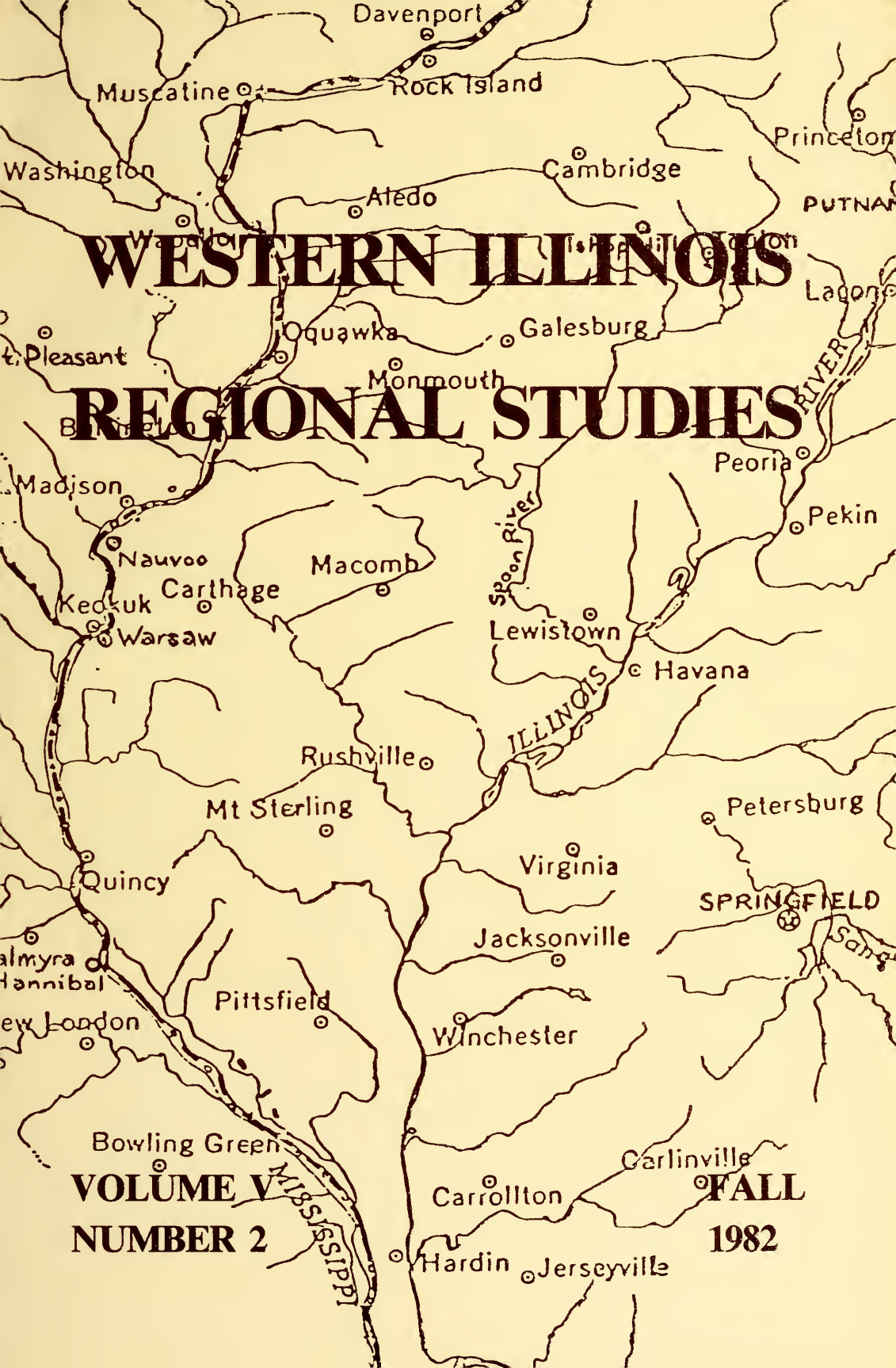
WESTERN ILLINOIS REGIONAL STUDIES



VOLUME V
NUMBER 2

FALL
1982

WESTERN ILLINOIS REGIONAL STUDIES

Published semiannually by
the University Libraries
and the College of Arts and Sciences
at Western Illinois University
Macomb, Illinois 61455

BOARD OF EDITORS

JAY R. BALDERSON
DONALD W. GRIFFIN
GORDANA REZAB
ROBERT P. SUTTON
JOHN E. HALLWAS, *Chairman*

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

DAVID D. ANDERSON, *Michigan State University*
MICHAEL BECKES, *United States Forest Service*
RICHARD W. CROCKETT, *Western Illinois University*
RICHARD CROWDER, *Purdue University*
JAMES E. DAVIS, *Illinois College*
RODNEY DAVIS, *Knox College*
ARLIN D. FENTEM, *Western Illinois University*
MYRON J. FOGDE, *Augustana College*
FRANK W. GOUDY, *Western Illinois University*
PEARCE S. GROVE, *Western Illinois University*
THOMAS E. HELM, *Western Illinois University*
WALTER B. HENDRICKSON, *MacMurray College*
ROBERT JOHANNSEN, *University of Illinois*
FREDERICK G. JONES, *Western Illinois University*
JERRY KLEIN, *"Peoria Journal Star"*
CHARLES W. MAYER, *Western Illinois University*
DENNIS Q. McINERY, *Bradley University*
RONALD E. NELSON, *District Historian, Illinois Department of Conservation*
RONALD E. NELSON, *Western Illinois University*
RICHARD D. POLL, *Western Illinois University*
FRED SOADY, *Illinois Central College*
STUART STRUEVER, *Northwestern University*
ROALD D. TWEET, *Augustana College*
WILLIAM L. URBAN, *Monmouth College*
ELLEN M. WHITNEY, *Editor emeritus, "Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society"*
DOUGLAS WILSON, *Knox College*

Subscription rates are $4.00 a year for individuals and $6.00 for institutions. Single issues are $2.00. Articles published in *WIRS* are listed in the *MLA Bibliography, America: History and Life,* and other appropriate bibliographies.

Correspondence about subscriptions, contributions, and books for review should be sent to the Chairman of the Board of Editors, *Western Illinois Regional Studies,* Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois 61455. Bibliographic and other information for the Notes and Documents section should be sent to Professor Gordana Rezab at the same address.

WESTERN ILLINOIS REGIONAL STUDIES

VOLUME V FALL 1982 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

Selected Letters from the Bishop Chase Correspondence
David R. Pichaske 105

The Midwestern Poetry of Eliza Snow
John E. Hallwas 136

Occupational Distribution of Frontier Towns in Pike County: An 1850 Census Survey
Juliet E. K. Walker 146

Forgotten Images: Nineteenth-Century Gravestone Motifs in Peoria County
Joan I. Unsicker 172

Slater Burgesser and His Famous Spring
James W. Vining 184

Notes and Documents 195

Reviews of Books 198

Contributors 203

Copyright 1982 by Western Illinois University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Bray, REDISCOVERIES: LITERATURE AND PLACE IN ILLINOIS
By John E. Hallwas

Litvin, THE JOURNEY
By Robert P. Sutton

Yeager, SESQUICENTENNIAL PAPERS: ILLINOIS COLLEGE
By Victor Hicken

SELECTED LETTERS FROM THE BISHOP CHASE CORRESPONDENCE

David R. Pichaske

Philander Chase was born in Cornish, New Hampshire on December 14, 1775, the youngest in a Congregationalist family of fifteen children. He entered Dartmouth College in 1791 where he happened on a copy of *The Book of Common Prayer* which converted him to the Episcopal faith. Upon returning to Cornish, he converted his family and friends and succeeded in convincing the populace to replace the Congregationalist meeting house with an Episcopal church. After graduating from Dartmouth in 1795, Chase removed to Albany, New York, where he began preparing himself for the Episcopal ministry. He was ordained a deacon on May 10, 1798 and a priest on November 10, 1799.

Chase's first appointment was as an itinerant missionary to the northern and western sections of the Diocese of New York. He served in a variety of parishes and mission fields, traveling several thousand miles each year, preaching, baptising, conducting services of worship, and administering the sacraments in dozens of communities as far north as Lake George. In the early 1800s, in addition to his missionary duties, Chase taught at the seminary in Poughkeepsie.

His wife's failing health, however, caused Chase to seek a warmer climate, and when New Orleans applied to the Bishop of New York for a missionary, Chase was given the appointment. He traveled to New Orleans, alone, in 1805 and began the work of organizing Christ Church and an affiliated school. Six months later he returned to New York for his family and possessions. The former arrived on one ship, with Chase, in New Orleans in 1806; the latter were lost in the wreck of the brig *Polly Eliza.* For six years Chase remained in New Orleans; then, in 1811, he returned to the North to a parish in Hartford, Connecticut. He and his wife seemed settled and content.

Filled with a sense of the needs and opportunities of the American West, however, Chase left Hartford in 1817 for Ohio. Here was the beginning of the work which would make him, in the words of his grandson

Virginius Chase, "one of the builders of our country, the great pioneer bishop, the son of the typical pioneers of the New England blood of Vermont and New Hampshire." In 1818 his wife Mary died, but the following year he was remarried to Sophie May Ingraham, who lived to bury Bishop Chase at the close of his remarkable career.

During 1817 and 1818 Chase busied himself organizing several congregations in Ohio, and when the parishes organized into a diocese in 1818 he was elected Bishop of Ohio. In February of 1819 he traveled to Philadelphia for consecration, returning to Ohio shortly thereafter. For the next three years he traveled countless miles up and down the state performing his duties as missionary, priest, and bishop. In 1821 he assumed duties as President of Cincinnati College, probably because his salary as Bishop of Ohio was inadequate to his needs as Bishop of Ohio.

In 1823 Chase conceived of a plan for an Episcopal seminary in the West, to train men of the West for service in the church of the West. The idea, which grew to a monomania in Chase's later years, did not sit well with his Eastern colleagues and caused resentment and hostility, which continued — often spilling into bitterness and slander — all of Chase's life. Impelled by his vision, however, Chase persisted with his plans and determined to fund his seminary with English money. Accordingly, he left Ohio on a fund-raising expedition through England, where he found substantial interest in America, especially in the American West. He returned to Ohio in 1824 with about $30,000 in contributions from a number of prominent clergymen, members of the nobility, and lay supporters, Lord Gambier and Lord Kenyon prominent among them. (Chase's letter of introduction to Lord Gambier was written by Henry Clay.) This money he used to purchase land and construct buildings at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio (although not until the opposition party in the American Church attempted to siphon off one third of his funds for the General Theological Seminary of New York). Although unsuccessful in his attempts to get Congress land for Kenyon, Chase used his $30,000 wisely, investing in a variety of auxiliary enterprises designed to support Kenyon financially, as well as in buildings and supplies for the college itself. By 1828 Kenyon was built and flourishing, although more as a college and a preparatory school than as a theological seminary.

In 1831, however, conflict arose between Chase and his faculty. The issues have been somewhat clouded by the passage of time and by mixed acrimony and embarassment on both sides, but the underlying problem seems to have been Chase's strong will coupled with his insistence on the primacy of his seminary while the faculty leaned more toward a college and a preparatory school. On September 9, 1831, Philander Chase dramatically resigned from the college he had built, having been virtually dismissed by the very faculty he had hired. He repaired to Gilead, Michigan, there to preach and write. In 1835 a fire in his home destroyed all of his possessions and many of his manuscripts.

Bishop Philander Chase. Courtesy of Bradley University Library.

For all his enemies, however, Chase was an imposing figure, a man of much power and many friends, a man of energy and commitment to "the West." In 1835, the newly organized diocese of Illinois elected Chase bishop, a position he gladly accepted, one eye on Illinois and the other on England. In October of 1835, in his sixtieth year, Chase set off for England again to solicit contributions for another seminary in the West, Jubilee College. This journey raised only about $10,000 for the country was in a recession, Chase's enemies were about, printing articles and circulating pamphlets discrediting him, and Lord Kenyon refers in a letter to his "much reduced income." Chase combined that money with personal funds and contributions from New Orleans, Charleston, and other cities in the South (and some small donations from New York, Philadelphia and the East) to build Jubilee. The cornerstone was laid in 1839 and the school was operating a year thereafter.

Chase's increasing prominence and the politics of the Episcopal Church brought Chase, a "low church" man, election to the post of Presiding Bishop of the House of Bishops in 1843. His duties in that capacity, as Bishop of Illinois, and as President of Jubilee College, made him a constant writer, even in his advanced age. He used the printing press at Jubilee and his franking privileges as U.S. Postmaster (a position he sought precisely because it afforded him free postage) to sustain a constant stream of printed matter and letters which flowed out of Robin's Nest (his home at Jubilee) literally throughout the world. When Chase died in 1852 he was widely known and respected, the founder of two colleges, both flourishing educational institutions.

The demise of Jubilee College, Chase's frequent moves, and disasters by land and sea have destroyed some of Philander Chase's correspondence, and scattered much of what remains to the four winds. The Kenyon College Archives contains substantial Chase materials, and recently the Cullom-Davis Library at Bradley University has — with the aid of the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Jubilee College — put together a collection of Chase materials, including correspondence. The letters here printed have been selected from items in the Virginius Chase Special Collections Center at Cullom-Davis Library.

These letters exist in three forms: original manuscript letters, photocopies of manuscript letters, and typed transcriptions of letters. By far the most interesting are the typed transcriptions, made probably in the 1930s and 1940s by Robert J. Herschel, now deceased, an early scholar of Jubilee and one of the first Citizens for the Restoration of Jubilee College. Herschel had access to the primary sources, now scattered or lost, used by Roma Louise Shively in writing her study, *Jubilee: A Pioneer College* (Elmwood, Illinois 1935). Herschel was also a friend of Virginius Chase, a direct descendent of Bishop Chase, a nationally known botanist, and the indirect source of the manuscript letters now stored at Cullom-Davis.

Herschel may also have transcribed letters from the Kenyon College collection.

Whether the originals were borrowed from Shively or Kenyon, or were letters once in the possession of Virginius Chase but subsequently sold (by Chase) to philatelists, very few of them remain in Peoria. In those cases where transcription can be matched with original, comparison reveals the transcriptions to contain numerous errors and omissions. In editing the transcriptions, then, one is faced with the probability of error and no real means of correcting that error.

The letters here published are intended to represent the full range of themes touched upon in Chase's correspondence: the Bishop's biography, ecclesiastical and educational business, the tensions between East and West, the hardship of frontier life, the curiosity in England about life in the American West, competition among religious groups for "the soul of the frontier," the distance—geographical and spiritual—that separated heartland and coast, curiosities of travel and historical fact, and—most of all—the speculations of a large and inquiring mind caught between faith and doubt, duty to God and duty to family, the city and the country, anger and transcendence, the City of God and the world of man. I have selected what I consider the more interesting letters, with special attention to those relating to the founding of Kenyon and Jubilee colleges. From the Bishop's writings emerges a picture of a remarkable man doing remarkable things; I hope this brief sampling suggests the richness of what remains as yet unpublished.

In preparing these letters (both manuscript and typescript) for publication, I have silently extended abbreviations (including **&** for **and**); standardized some headings and signatures; modernized, when necessary, punctuation; replaced many of Chase's colons and dashes with periods and commas; modernized spelling; and, in extreme cases, normalized capitalization, although in most instances I have retained the Bishop's, or his correspondent's eccentricities. In those cases where transcriptions have a garbled text or haste made for a confused letter, I have tried, through emendations indicated in brackets, to restore sense. In places where transcriptions indicate a word or phrase omitted because it was unintelligible, or where torn letters have left holes in manuscripts, I have replaced the likely word (again in brackets) or indicated the lacuna with a bracketed space.

I am indebted to Kenyon College archivist Thomas B. Greenslade, to Bradley University librarians Robert Jones and Charles Frey, to the anonymous benefactor who brought the Chase letters to the Cullom-Davis Library at Bradley such a short time ago, and to Elinor S. Hearn of the Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

Manchester
April 24, 1824

My dear friend [Bishop Chase],

Your favor of the 21st was received yesterday and read with much pleasure. Your letters become more interesting daily and the cause of Ohio, which excited our greatest anxiety, while in danger of being smothered, is acquiring strength as it ascends to the higher orders, whose patronage and support will make success certain, and your future labours comparatively easy.

I have looked through *the house that Jack Built* – and find it unfurnished, except with a few valuable materials borrowed from Ohio. The wants of the church in that immense territory beyond the mountains are ably stated, but no means of relief are provided or remedy proposed; for who will believe that a territory more than 2000 miles in length and 700 in breadth, and whose mean distance from the General Theological Seminary is near 1500 miles can be supplied from that quarter? That institution contains at present 17 pupils and is an object of great interest with the friends of the American church, and may be looked up to for a supply of succeeding Bishops and Clergy wanted for vacancies occasioned by death or otherwise in the Eastern states, which are now comparatively well supplied, and possibly for that small portion of territory beyond the Mountains which forms a part of the Diocese of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York. More than this cannot be reasonably expected. How then is that territory to be supplied? The answer is by a theological seminary in some central situation, and all agree that Ohio is the spot. It is admitted that the General Seminary has not funds at present for establishing Branch Schools. Where then can aid be expected unless from members of the Church of England who are willing to be instruments of perpetuating in that extensive and peculiarly interesting portion of the United States the faith and worship of their venerable and apostolic church? Take from the application of Bishop Hobart[2] and Mr. Wheaton[3] the interesting situation of the territory of the west of the mountains, and you will take from it nearly all its interest. In regard to your intended circular I can only take a country view but beg to suggest the propriety of introducing the loss sustained by the church, in the death of your ever to be lamented son[4]; and perhaps an extract from Bishop Bowen's[5] letter, communicating that event. Such testimonies of approbation as may be thought most appropriate, and that the application for subscription in favor of the seminary in Ohio is approved by the Right Reverend Bishop Hobart of New York and by the Right Reverend Bishop Chase of Ohio. I do not think it expedient to take any notice whatever of the application for New York and

Connecticut, but a list of subscribers (or a portion of them) would have much influence. Some of our clergy have objected to my application, at first, and said they saw no reason why they should support it, unless the Bishops did. They seem to think that we ought to apply to them first. The warden did not make any objection, but gave me his patronage and that in a note of hearty approbation. You will be supported by a part of the Bishops—[I] sincerely hope by them all—with the Archbishop at the head, but if not, their subscription to the cause of New York and Connecticut will injure yours. Their support will have great weight with the principal clergyman in almost every town. It will therefore be desirable to have as much of that influence as possible. I was much delighted to learn that the venerable Bishop of Durham approved what you were about. You know he was patron of Mr. Paley, I hope he will become acquainted with the merits of your cause and aid your introduction to the clergy of Durham. I shall be glad to hear of your proceedings when you have time to write and particularly of the result of your interview with the Archbishop. All at Platt Hall unite in kind regards with your faithful friend,

T. Wigan[6]

To Thomas Bates Esquire—Ridley Hall[7]
near New Castle on Tyne, England

Gambier, A.D. 1830
Kenyon College, Ohio
United States, North America
December 22nd

Very Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed duplicate of a circular which I thought it my duty to transmit to all the Bishops in these United States of this country. The **Extravagant Demand** of Mr. West[8] concerning the Episcopate, based as it is on **falsehood and vanity,** would excite in my bosom nothing but astonishment and pity, had he not connected it with other matters in a pamphlet which he has carried with him to England calculated (if **believed**) to injure if not destroy the Institution of Kenyon College. Instead of wading through the muddy stream flowing from this man's pen by way of **answering** his mistatements, I trust in the good sense of his readers to make allowances for the perverted condition of his mind. What else could be expected from the man whose vanity had caused him "to climb up into the fold some other way" than that of the Canons and Constitution of the Church to which he belonged; and that by the dreams of his own imagination groundless of truth?

As to his charge of "mismanagement"—Oh that you could come and see! We have the approbation of our Trustees who investigate every thing and require vouchers for every expenditure.

Relying on the goodness of our cause and under the mercies of God in Jesus Christ we are going on with our buildings. The Church is progressing slowly but surely of stone, in all 150 long [by] 66—walls three feet thick which are now nearly ten feet high and covered in for the winter. Stone is quarried and cut and drawn to the spot with lime half enough to finish the building.

Besides this we are erecting a Grammar School House 74 feet by 40, three stories high, of wood. This will accomodate from 80 to 100 boys—one apartment in it, being 60 by 40 feet, will answer for a college Chapel till that of stone, as above, is finished.

But whence—you will say— do we get funds to this and yet maintain in board, full lodging, light, and tuition 150 and upwards for 60 and 70 dollars per annum? I answer—I have borrowed of a Friend and mortgaged my own estate and have received something in advance of the students, but by no means sufficient to meet our reasonable and inevitable expenses, so that I know not how we shall be able to get on in our great work without the merciful interference of a kind (and I might in truth say **miraculous**) Providence. Mr. West by his vain representations of his own achievements and his misrepresentations of our affairs (of which from the shortness of his stay and from the perverted state of his vain ambitions and disappointed mind he was so little able to judge correctly) has injured us incalculably with the public as to the state of our funds. One noisy objector in the streets can outplead many who in the name of Jesus in the silent walks of life are soliciting help for worthy objects. It is for this reason that I fear Mr. West's misrepresentations in this country as well as in England will do us harm. And it is this which makes me pray now more than ever for the great happiness of seeing you among us.

All the conditions mentioned in your propositions to the English and Irish Bishops will be complied with. I have refused and still refuse to sell the North Section (4,000 acres) till I see or hear from you. Do therefore honour me with a letter and give me some hopes of seeing one to whom I am already so much indebted. With the most grateful sentiments I am your faithful and obliged

Friend and Humble Servant,
Philander Chase

Gilead [Michigan]
March 16, 1834

To Mrs. Mary Gray[9]
Wife of Jonathan Gray, Esquire
of York, England

Very dear Lady,

It is now Sunday and in the season of Lent, and I am reminded of you and your excellent husband by that intelligent book which is now before me, Dr. Ramback's *Meditations on the Sufferings of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,* of which he was the translator and you the donor to myself. If you knew what great and spiritual benefit this book has been to myself and dear family in the many trials to which we have been subject since I left England, you would not be surprised at my seeking some way of expressing my gratitude to the instrument by which that benefit has been conferred on us from our Heavenly Father . . . .

You will doubtless wish to know something of the nature of the causes which have brought me into this my place of exile from what was once my beloved diocese and theatre of my labors. Alas! Alas! It is but a sad tale and fervently do I pray for a forgiving spirit for all the wrongs I have received from those whom it was my wish and joy to benefit. A spirit of envy and jealousy took possession of the (I fear too youthful) teachers whom I had chosen, and caused them to conspire together to alter the nature of the institution, to found which I had, under God, been the unworthy instrument, and to require of me to consent to measures they contrived by concealed machinations to communicate to the Trustees of the Institution, who, becoming inflamed by partial and perverted statements, confirmed the grounds taken by the conspirators, and I must quit or go at once in a conspicuous, open, boisterous quarrel totally inconsistent with the peaceful nature of the Holy Jesus. I resigned by Episcopate of that diocese and retired into the wilderness. In this exile I am followed by my loved wife, four children, and my excellent niece, Mrs. Lucia Russell, and her interesting daughter Sarah.

When we came into this place, the face of nature was beautiful, but our hastily constructed dwelling was very far from the abode of man, but one little hut existing (and that not high enough to stand upright in) within the distance of six or seven miles. But lonely as it was, our residence proved far more agreeable than the abodes of ingratitude and malice. God's holy presence accompanied us as we went to work to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow. The Holy day of the Lord was never forgotten, nor the morning and evening

sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving among my loved children. Soon I found time and strength to go through our woods and distant prairies in search of the lost and wandering sheep of Christ's fold and minister to them the word of God and the bread of life; and many are the blessings I experience in teaching the Gospel to others without money and without price. The little remnants of the fortune which I so lavishly bestowed on Ohio have served to purchase for me land on which, by the labour of us all, we can get a living. Our chief distress is the want of a Church in which to gather a congregation as the inhabitants come to settle around us. By hard work and savings we have already erected a saw mill by the operation of which our lumber in boards and scantling can be prepared; what is that compared with the expense of stone and brick and labour of erecting and finishing? In God, however, is my trust that something will come to pass by which my eyes will be cheered and my heart will be gladdened in beholding the prosperity of God's Holy Church. If I had a few faithful labourers in Christ's vineyard and a small fund to retain them without labouring with their hands as I do, much fruit might be expected. I will not despair. My faith is in him who is mighty to save and hath all things at his control. Perhaps I may write to you again soon. In the meantime be assured of my most grateful remembrances touching all the kindnesses which I experienced while in York.

If any inquire after me, assure them of my prayers, especially your good husband, and believe me ever your faithful and grateful friend in Christ Jesus our Lord,

P. Chase

Peoria
November 8, 1834

Right Reverend and Dear Sir [Bishop Chase],

Agreeably to your request I send to you some notice of my movements here in the "far West." The next morning after we left your hospitable mansion, Major Randall and myself resumed our journey. At Niles we found the Rev. Mr. Silkrig,[10] who had arrived the day before. He had seen most of the Episcopalians of the place, and appeared to be pleased with the prospects before him. He told me that his salary, including the missionary allowance, would be about $600. On my arrival at La Porte, Indiana, a pleasant and flourishing new village, I learned that a few Churchmen resided there. I visited one family of them and ascertained that that village and Niles (28 miles asunder) were to be associated in the support of brother S.; and it was believed that money enough could be obtained by subscription (about $150.) in the former place, to secure his services for one

half of the time. In Michigan City we spent a number of days, including Sunday, October 5. Here I found a few who prefer the Church and would give it their support. One of them, Mr. Skinner, a merchant, had been one of my parishioners at the East. On Saturday I performed the Burial Service, and on Sunday officiated twice in an unfinished school house, where I had a respectable and attentive congregation. No Episcopal clergyman had ever officiated in the place—no minister of any denomination resides there—nor is there any house of public worship. Occasionally, but very rarely, are the inhabitants favored with a visit from some Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist preacher. Should any Episcopal clergyman establish himself there immediately, I think he would have as favorable an opportunity for building up the Church as is presented in almost any other place. The village of St. Joseph is an equally destitute, and perhaps an equally inviting field. A Presbyterian merchant, residing there, told me that he and his fellow citizens would gladly welcome an Episcopal clergyman, and invited me to stop there and lay the foundation of a church. I hope brother S. will give early and continued attention to those two villages. Michigan City contains, I was informed, more than one hundred buildings, and about 500 inhabitants. I arrived at Chicago on the 8th, and on Sunday the 12th Episcopal services were performed there for the first time. I officiated morning and afternoon in the Presbyterian meeting house, and, at the request of the few Episcopal communicants whom I found residing there, administered to them the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Presbyterian minister and his communicants also came forward and received the sacrament at my hands. The congregation was large. Episcopalians and friends of the church here are numerous and respectable. The parish will be a large and able one—perhaps the largest and richest in the village. The communicants with whom I became acquainted, three ladies, are devout and zealous Christians—among the excellent of the earth. On Monday the 13th I set out, upon an Indian pony for Peoria, distant 160 miles—arrived here on Friday—and on Sunday, October 19th, Episcopal services were, also for the first time, performed upon the shores of the Illinois. I found here no house of worship, no school-house, no school, no minister of any description, no organized parish or society of any kind for religious purposes. The Methodists and Presbyterians had enjoyed the advantage of occasional and irregular ministrations from some of their distant preachers. On Sunday the 26th ultimo I preached again, and on the following day, the 27th, agreeably to public notice given to the congregation and in our village newspaper, a meeting was held, and a parish organized by the name of "St. Jude's Church, Peoria." This is the first, and as yet the only, church or parish, of any denomination, in the county of Peoria. The vestry are about to secure an eligible lot for the site of a church. How we shall succeed, God

knowth. We are few, and poor, and just come together from almost all parts of the world. The country around us is new, and contains only here and there a log house or two. Emigrants, however, are coming in rapidly. Our town is the capital of the county, and a brick courthouse is now in progress of building. We have perhaps 70 to 80 houses, and 400 to 500 inhabitants. Our location, at the foot of lake Peoria, on the site of old Fort Clark, is the most pleasant and beautiful in the State. The ground rises gradually from the lake, and is dry and gravelly. The prairie, on which the village stands, extends back to a high bluff, about one mile, where commences an oak opening. Below the village it is two or three miles to the timber land of the Kickapoo river. Above, the timber is still nearer; and on the opposite side of the lake (which is from 3/4 of a mile to 2 miles in width) timber abounds for many miles in extent. May the Lord bless our labors in this interesting field, and grant that here many may be born again heirs of everlasting life, and that multitudes here may become "a peculiar people, zealous of good works." And may he bless you, my Right Reverend friend, and prosper your plans and the glory of his name.

Divine providence permitting, I shall before many days visit Pekin, Mackinaw, and some other towns in this section of the State, and endeavor to make known the Church among the people, and ascertain what propect there is of doing good among them by the ministrations of an Episcopal clergyman. Should anything of moment occur, or any information of importance be gained, I will again write to you. Please to let me hear from you whenever it may suit your convenience—Give my respectful compliments to Mrs. Chase, and believe me to be

Truly yours, Palmer Dyer[11]

Steubenville, Ohio
August 20, 1835

My very dear Uncle [Bishop Chase],

I was truly rejoiced to hear from you once more; and from New York too! And on such an errand! All of this affords cause of thankfulness of gratitude and joy. How much more, if, through the blessing of our most merciful and good God, you shall be successful in the object of your mission.

I am persuaded that your attendance at the General Convention will have a good effect in more ways than one, even should you not succeed in other things to the extent of your desire. And when I heard that you were there, or rather about to go there from New York, my

hopes for the church in Illinois were raised higher than ever before; now said I "all members will be cemented one for another." You will see Bishop McIlvaine too,[12] and will find him what he ever has been, your sincere and hearty friend.

I have long since come to the conclusion that every diocese must eventually, sooner or later, have its own Theological School. And this being the case, why should not Illinois have hers? Why should she not have it **now** when it may do the greatest good and when she needs it most? If there be any "Agency" in order to bring about this desirable result, necessary, it had perhaps better be your own. Great indeed will be the labour and travail it will bring to body and to mind; but even in this there will be joy and delight to your heart. You will have to undergo what **was** undergone some fifteen or twenty years since in Ohio. No matter: *"Pro ecclesia; pro Deo; pro hominum salute."* Were the health, the years, the means, the hopes and spirit with which you first came to the west **now yours,** humanly speaking I should not fear the result. But as it **is, why should I fear?** Why always look on "the dark side of things?" as you used to tell me. No, I will not fear; I will believe, though with trembling. I will hope, yea "against hope." Above all I will pray that God will give strength according to your day and grace for your utmost need. Once in your great extremity, did not God speak unto you and say, "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure; be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord"? May he now again bring this promise comfortably to your mind. May He so bless you in the present undertaking that "the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached," truly received, and truly followed; to the breaking down of the kingdom "of sin, Satan and death"; till at length the whole of Christ's dispersed "sheep, being gathered into one fold, shall become partakers of everlasting life." In that day may you have the happiness to say, "Here, Lord, am I and those whom Thou gavest me."

I should feel great happiness in accompanying you in the visit to our eastern friends, to see once more their faces before I die, but circumstances at present forbid me this pleasure. As it is, I can accompany you in spirit to the scenes of olden time, and sympathize with you in sorrow and in joy. Remember me kindly to them all; and say to dear Aunt Denison that we hope to see her once more in Ohio, seeing she has now two, and including myself **three** of her children here.

Dear Mr. Wells returned from Michigan about two weeks since, in good health and spirits. He intends to go out again this fall for the purpose of completing the saw mill which he has commenced on the Pawpaw river.

Rebecca and Mary are very well and send much love. Mary is I trust increasing in wisdom and growing in grace. She is about as tall

as her mother and manifests a spirit of application in her studies which gives us much pleasure. Mrs. Sheldon and daughter are still with us, keeping their school in what we familiarly called the **cellar** of the church.

Indeed, dear Uncle, I am afraid we are almost too happy—too much blessed for our spiritual good. Pray that we may be preserved from this and every other temptation and believe me now and ever

Your affectionate nephew,
Intrepid Morse

October 3rd, at Sea, 2nd day out
from New York on board the good
packet ship St. James [1835]

My dear wife:

I think the last letter which I addressed to you was on the morning of the second—only 24 hours ago—and yet it seems a great while, for every moment was counted. In the first place I wrote a long letter to our dear Mr. Morse[14] of Steubenville and to him had all the little things to relate which might be agreeable to him and dear Rebecca to know, and then to say something expressive of my tender feelings towards my dear granddaughter **Mary**. When this was done both the letters, yours and his, were dispatched by the sailor who came aboard with the pilot. And then came on the noise of heaving up the anchor, which was raised with great difficulty, having got foul of something at the bottom; so that all the power of the steamboat which, being lashed to the ship, exerted itself to **go ahead,** while the windlass and all hands strove to raise **upwards,** could scarcely serve to release the **St. James** from her moorings . . . . This was no sooner done than that beautiful scenery in passing down to and through the narrows and by Sandy Hook began, and continued to occupy all our attention. Long Island on the left and Staten Island on the right, rich in their verdant and autumnal splendor; the gay picture of the [ ] or quarantine village as if painted by some divine artist to delight the eye with all that the best taste can wish or the heart of benevolence can desire; and then the well-constructed fortifications and the lofty signals flying afluttering in the breeze, and then the **sublime sea** opening her vast expanse on the one hand and the lofty land of New York on the other; and then the ships and vessels of all descriptions coming and going out, and last of all our own meeting and encountering the **Mighty Flood** whose waves pay no respect to persons or things. Soon, very soon, were our feelings changed. Eliza Ralston[15] first felt the effects of the bolting motion, then Sir Charles Vaughan,[16] then others and myself. After dinner I

went to bed and this morning awoke refreshed, but the vessel begins to roll again and my head begins to ache, so, so I must quit. Take this as a specimen of a departure from one's dear country and the first encountering the **troubles** of the sea. Adieu!

5th October, at sea
On board the same [St.] James

As I came on deck appeared a ship on our starboard quarter, supposed to be a merchant vessel steering for the Newfoundland Banks. Fresh breeze from the south. Sun shining as in June . . . . This is the record of this the 5th. But what should be that of the times since the last dates? Alas I am but a poor seaman in every respect. Seasickness makes a fool of me, and yet I think sick as I was on Saturday night I can remember sufficiently of that eventful period to interest your feelings and to constitute a monument of lasting gratitude to Him on whom lives depend and who is the Author of all goodness. This will be done by a simple narrative of facts.

I had not been able in my **seasickness** to cascade the bile, although retchings agitated my frame and continued nausea afflicted by stomach. I took to my bed and was seized with one of my old enemy's attacks, the **Bilious Cholic.** Having forgotten in my hurry when leaving New York to lay in a stock of my favorite medicine, I called for the ingredients separately of which that is composed: essence of cloves and cinnamon and diluted in water so as to be potable. [It] gave me almost instant relief and after an hour or two I fell into a sweet sleep; and from this I [was] aroused by the cry of fire and the call for **"water water"** to extinguish it. To the end [of] it, of all on board and who all were like myself in the arms of sleep, there was no unnecessary outcry.[17] All was coolness of mind manifested amid the most proper exertions. Even the ladies said not a word above their breath; the gentlemen with their great coats only about them were on the spot to render any assistance that might be required and the hands under the command of as fine a Captain as ever sailed (Seabore) performed their duty in the best manner, so that in a few minutes the cause of our alarm was entirely removed. Some fireworks had been deposited in the Chief Mate's cabin, and he himself had gone to sleep. How these took fire no account could be given, except the man at the wheel—the Helmsman—perceiving the smoke and the fire pouring from the **room** of the Mate, which was near him, cried out "fire, fire." By this time the bed and bedding and wearing apparel of the mate was consumed and the flames had well nigh deprived him of life. The noise, however, brought him to his senses and the room was soon of **"blackness"** and **"darkness."**

Amidst this most agonizing trial I dressed myself and as the passengers [passed] one by one into the cabin was most happy to find them most deeply impressed with a sincere gratitude to God for his signal preservation of us all from the most distressing of all deaths, that of being burned alive in the midst of the ocean. This state of grateful feeling, cherished by a mutual account of a thousand circumstances and events attending this awful scene, [brought] the whole ship's company[18] for the holy service of the coming day—Sunday. My sermon was the character and achievements of the King Messiah, and a necessity of faith in him to preserve us from the waters of eternal death. The whole day was exceedingly pleasant. The goodness of God I trust led all hearts to repentance.

Tuesday 6 October
1835

The whole tenor of this our voyage to old England is so uniform that the words which I design to make must, as it respects the weather and propitious winds and things usually set down in a log-book, be extremely monotonous. But the blessings and cause of thankfulness are none the less real, and to one who is accustomed to see God in his fulness of glory in the splendors of a mild morn as well as in the thunders of an angry sky, the pleasure of **noting down** (what I have now before my eyes: a fair wind, smooth sea, the brilliancy of an eastern sky, the greetings of the passengers as each appears on deck with smiling health and well dressed person) is as great, perhaps much greater than the pride of being the instrument of recording the dangers and disasters of the great deep, and of astonishing our friends with the intelligence of marvelous escapes. But I had little thought when I sat down to this table on deck which by reason of the free wind that is blowing us along most admirably through the blue waters of the Gulf Stream that my **first periods** would be so long. Short and sweet is my motto in all epistolary communications and if I have as above departed from my own rule, I will hope forgiveness.

By the bye. This moment the third mate came to the table where I am writing to record his log, how fast the ship is going, and "Pray, good Mr. third mate, am I in your way?" said I. "Not at all, Sir," was his reply. "Well, Sir," said I, "Do you wish to hear something which [if] you remember and practice will accomplish all that you wish?" "Well, Sir," said he, "What is it?" "Speak the truth and say your prayers and drink no grog. This will lead you to your Saviour and he will make you blessed in this world and eternally happy in the next." As he was shutting his drawer that kept his **log-slate** he looked steadfastly in my face, and I told him of the like advice which I gave to

poor dear young Mr. Bill, the second mate on the ship Orbit, in 1823. And how when he came back to New York he had told his mother how much good it had done him, and God had converted his heart and how all this cheered her maternal bosom in the sad reflection that he was now dead, having been left afterwards with his little brother at sea. How the present matter will turn out, God only knows. **We** sow the seed; there is only one who can cause it to take root downward and bring forth fruit upward. To Him let us always look and pray for a blessing through Jesus Christ.

Wednesday, October 7

6 o'clock A.M. We are now by the mists which appear on the surface of the ocean near the Newfoundland Banks about one fourth past your voyage as it respects **length** over. The sun rises in great splendor, triumphing over the surrounding mists as our holy faith rises and shines over human frailties. By faith in Jesus who is our Sun and shield, darkness is dispelled and doubts flee away. Even so may it be with me in this voyage to England for the benefit of thousands in Illinois. Our ship, by reason of the stiff breeze from the south, is nearly on her beam-ends and going at the rate of ten knots an hour; the hands are engaged in scrubbing off the deck, although they can scarcely stand in doing so. My table on deck on which I am writing this is in a beautiful room built on the quarter deck for the accomodation of the passengers. It is large and convenient and from it there are two companion ways or stairs leading into the cabin below. Above this room are the rooms for the Captain and first mate, each his own apartment, and each side of this room is a passage and a cover like a veranda leading back to the vessel rail and cet.; in short, the ship is very perfect.

Thursday 8th of October 1835

I have nothing to observe this morning except a continuation of the mercies mentioned yesterday: fine wind and weather and the good health of all on board. It is a week today at eleven since we came on board the packet, and not a drop of rain and scarcely a cloud to obscure the rays of the sun or moon has occurred. The wind also has favored us to an uncommon degree, for although it has been nearly all the time on our beam so as to make the Ship careen and the passengers of course quite uncomfortable, yet the Ship's head has been going toward "the **haven** where we would be" and all on board have been "**going**, going" nearer and nearer to it. Lively emblem of that state of **progress** so desirable in the **Christian voyage** over

the waves of this troublesome world to the haven of everlasting rest.

I spoke with the first Mate this morning as quite early we met on Deck on the subject of my inviting the steerage passengers with a view to speak to them in some familiar way on the subject of religion. The Mate was free to talk of **them** and **their** spiritual wants, and this gave me the opportunity to say something to **him** and **his** cants of personal religion. I spoke of the **madness** of considering the **voyage** of life as the only thing we had in view when entering it. We should look forward to the blessed country, the haven, the port, the city of rest and peace, and never cease our endeavors to be prepared for the enjoyments which God has there prepared for his faithful servants.

What good my poor advice may do him I am not able to say. One thing he mentioned gave me hopes of him: viz., that his **wife** is pious. How many men have been saved through the instrumentality of their wives! And praise God that Mr. Braddich (for that is the mate's name) may be another example of this remark.

I can no longer suppress my feelings of tender remembrance of my family at Gilead. I am writing to you as if I had committed no fault in having you undergo another of the cold winters of Michigan without society and in the want of many comforts. Have I done right in so doing without first consulting **you**? My eyes fill with tears at this startling question. From the view of the subject now before me what course should I take were I now in New York? Perhaps the same that I have taken: the wants of the West, the suffering state of settlers in Illinois, the dangers from Popery all would **constrain** me to try to do something before I die. And how can that be affected without going to see my friends in England I cannot see. God will take care of you and all in Gilead.

9th morning of the month October
20 minutes past 7
on board the Packet at sea just passing
off the New Foundland Banks.

The sun has risen in a fleecy cloud, the wind has died away almost in a calm, and the sea has become smoother. The sailors are working and scrubbing, wiping off the water from the deck. The cow is eating hay demurely from the hamper while her body is undercover in the house built for her; the ducks are raising their harsh voices for fresh water and the Butcher by their side has just finished dressing very near a fine half grown hog for dinner. If you ask who is on deck beside the important personages whom I have just mentioned, I think I can not one except myself. All our cabin passengers are yet in their berths, and as for those in the steerage and before the mast,

I have as yet seen none except the hands. If my early rising has no other benefit, it enables me to write a few words to you and my dear family at home, who are never out of mind. And if I have nothing to say but as above things of the most trifling character, I have the consolation to think I am saying them to those who love me. A ship is on our starboard bow distant about five miles. The pleasure of seeing vessels at sea is deservedly counted great. It tells us that we are still among the living, though so long banished from it, that others are as great fools as we have been to trust themselves on the restless deep, and if they bear the troubles and deprivations of a long voyage, we may do the same.

The Banks, you are aware, are a kind of centerpoint or common ground for all nations to meet on for the purpose of fishing. The Americans, the English, and the French are the chief occupiers of this privilege at present. The French come in brigs and ships which cast anchor and go to work with their lines either cast from the vessel immediately into the sea or from their small boats brought along with them for that purpose. The English put their vessels into the docks and harbours on the shores of New Foundland, of which they are the owners, and go out on the fishing ground in small craft. The Yankees bring all along with them in a small, tight built vessel, and go right to work at once and often have their task well begun before the others have found their ground or let down a hook.

By this time the steward is ringing, or has ordered his boy to ring the bell for the passengers to get up, and I must of course lay down my pen to salute them all as they come on deck. For the civilities of life are kept up on board to the top notch. Would that **TRUE CHARITY**, of which civility is but a sorry representative, were as common as compliments!

By the bye, I have the pleasure to tell you that Mrs. Ralston, our dear friend Eliza, was so far recovered by her seasickness as to set up at dinner yesterday. God grant she may continue to mend. But I fear her health is otherwise poor, but what her complaint is, I can not say. I think her afflictions lead her to think seriously of religion. From that source she may draw a balm for all her woes.

Sunday Morning, October 11, 1835
at sea in the Packet ship St. James
bound for **London**.

For the chasms in our correspondence, I believe of nearly eight and forty hours, you may thank our dear brother Dudley.[19] It is to him I have been writing and devoting those moments which I have usually given to **you** and the dear family at Gilead. But although his letter is not finished yet, I can no longer [forbear] to record, as the ship

glides safely along, the mercies which we enjoy, for your inspection. How dear, how delicious is the thought as I sit [ ] on the rocking and rolling deck and bracing myself in every direction to keep myself from "**Fetching away**" and wishing to think your dear eyes and those of our loved children will rest on the same paper which now as it were dances before me!

What, are we [to] bless this of **all** the enjoyments of this fleeting course of life! of mine and yours in particular.[20] What pleasures have we had but such as to literally resemble those I am now partaking. God grant they may continue such as to **cheer** but not detain, to further, not to hinder our speed towards our haven of rest!

The sun is shining brightly, the wind is fair and strong, but the vessel I fear is in too much motion to allow us a quiet **Sunday's** Service!

Monday morn: October 12

Yesterday not withstanding the great motion of the vessel, we had both Sermon and Service. In reading the prayers I made shift to kneel, and in the [reading] of the Psalms for the day I stood, although the congregation at my request continued sitting; indeed, if they had attempted otherwise to conform, there would and must have been great confusion, such was the quick motion in the rapid pitching and tossing of the ship. The wind was fair, and this compensates for many inconveniences. In truth, we have great reason to be thankful for the extraordinary continuation of the wind at the same point quite in our favour. We make and have been making for several days past more than 250 miles on our voyage direct to our port every day. Should this state of things continue, we shall be in England by next Saturday night. God grant this great mercy be ours! Should it please Almighty Providence so to order it, may I not view it in the light of a pledge of prosperity in the ultimate object of my going to England? Great peace and harmony remain among our fellow passengers. The sun shines bright, although the wind whistles briskly and loudly through the rigging.

Tuesday, October 13

It is a very uncommon mercy which I new record—viz., the continuation of the same breeze from the same quarter accompanied by the same find weather. How good is that **Kind Providence** who thus orders things for our benefit, and how thankful should we be in viewing his mercies! Instead of restraining these expressions of our gratitude for fear something may occur of a contrary character to dampen our joy, we should consider that the prolongation and reitera-

tions of God's mercies to us may depend on that very acknowledgment of our dependence of him, which our thankful expressions imply. Don't exult so—don't be so elated at pleasing events, you do not know what may happen. The winds that blow now favourably may soon change and come from an adverse quarter, and the sun which now shines so brightly may soon be clouded with portentous storms! True, very true. But this reverse will **not** be the consequence of our grateful acknowledgments of present mercies. If we know and feel from whence our mercies come and return our thanks to Him who alone is the author of them, both reason and the whole tenor of God's promises assure us that he will continue to give simply because he sees we improve his mercies. To him that [has] shall be given, and he shall have in abundance. The truth is men are superstitious. They seem to fancy that the Elements are governed by Demons who grudge the human race the little joys which happen to fall to their lot, and whenever they perceive smiles on their faces or hear grateful and cheerful words from their mouths are seized with envy and take a malicious pleasure in turning joys into griefs; and hence the foolish expedient is adopted to keep these **demons** ignorant of our joy by sullen violence and unnatural restraints. The whole is on the same principle with the conduct of the Dutchman who nails a horseshoe on the threshold of his door to keep off the witches, or with the ignorant sailor who thinks Friday a bad time to go to sea . . . . As if God were not the sole Governor of the Universe, or if he **be** yet knoweth not or careth not what condemned spirits may do with his creatures in his absence. Nothing can derogate more families' honour than such superstitious sentiments as these. Let us teach our children a different lesson from this. Let us impress on their minds a deep sense of the Attributes of God the Maker and preserver of all things. Let us teach them that He is everywhere present and knoweth all things, all we think, all we say and all we do, and ordereth all things so as to keep his justice entire while his Mercy freely can operate for the Salvation of Free Agents. This creed, fully justified by the Holy Scriptures, will lead them to trust in God and obey his voice, to rejoice in his goodness and to fly to Him and him alone for salvation.

Half past nine at night. Still the good wind continues! Our progress has been nearly ten miles an hour, and at this I should judge from the [ ] of the ship that it is nearly eleven miles!! The truth of my remark you might fancy from the crooked way of my writing. I have put my knee against the half drawn drawer in a table lashed to the floor of the upper cabin, and while I write [with] my right hand, keep my lamp from fetching away every roll of the vessel with the left. Painful as it is, the pleasure of saying a few words to you and the dear children amply repays me. We begin to **hope** we can arrive in Portsmouth old England by Saturday next . . . .

17

Today discovered land, the rocks of the Island [ ] about 75 miles S.W. from Portsmouth. A pilot came on board, just fifteen days since the New York pilot left us!! But the wind does not allow us to proceed along the coast and we are obliged to stand again to sea—emblem of most things human! May it teach us patience, and patience, hope.

18

Sunday; the wind though light has brought us again up Channel past the Lizzard lights and Plymouth. Had church on deck. God grant the exercise may do us all good through Jesus Christ. It is now near four in the afternoon.

19

Arrived in Portsmouth. Shall pass immediately to London and stay at Mr. Wiggins' where you will address me. I have written to Lord Kenyon, Mrs. Marriott near Exeter, to the Bishop of Sodor and Mann announcing my arrival. Ever your faithful and affectionate Husband

P. Chase

26 October 1835
London, No. 50 Harley Street

Very Dear Lady Rosse,[21]

Few things have given me more pleasure than the reception of a letter from the Right Honorable Lord Kenyon on this day by which I am assured that your Ladyship is well. By a similar letter received in America few months before I left there for England I learned with very great satisfaction that your Ladyship had made some kind inquiries concerning me. The object of this letter is to express my grateful sentiments for such great favour, and to assure your Ladyship of my constant prayers for the divine blessing on the evening of your very benevolent life.

Soon after my appointment to the Episcopate of Illinois, a diocese much larger than that of Ohio, and as far to the west of it as Ohio is to the Atlantic states, I had the boldness, encouraged by your Ladyship's former goodness to me, to write you a letter. As I sent it with a parcel containing a map, I fear it never reached its destination.

I need not say what happiness it would give me to be allowed the honour of waiting of your Ladyship and of communicating in person many things concerning the interests of our primitive and apostolic Church in the **far west of America,** which lies deep in my heart. I spent a good part of last summer in traveling over my new

Diocese, now settling with unexampled rapidity. Bounded on the River Mississippi more than three hundred miles, it is open to the attacks of the Papists, who claim that noble stream and all its tributaries as in a manner their own. Already they have established and richly endowed with European funds their cathedrals, seminaries, schools for educating Roman Priests, nunneries for deluded protestant females, and boarding schools for decoying youth of both sexes within the influences of the prosoliting system of modern Jesuites. These circumstances with many others make my heart sink within me in a kind of dispair at the thought of my own inability and unpreparedness to contend with the difficulties before me. Had I a school of learning for the preparing of persons for Holy orders on the spot where they are to meet the foe in establishing protestant churches while the country is settling as it is now going on most rapidly to do; could this be endowed with the funds to maintain learned professors capable of defending the truth and grappling with the foe, the cause of Truth would triumph and the souls of millions would be saved. We have the professors already in the Atlantic states who would go to the far west with me, but they want support. We have the students, some partially educated, who would go also with me if they had teachers to finish their courses. In short, all things are ready but the pecuniary means, and these our protestant churches in America, having so much to do in so many directions, can not afford for Illinois. Standing alone on the vast and beautiful prairies of my diocese all my feeble efforts to plant and nourish the vineyard of God committed to my charge must be in a measure vain.

These facts and reasons have brought me again to England, and being here to whom should I communicate my wants and my woes more readily than to your Ladyship's benevolent mind and heart? The reasons for the divine dispensation in causing me to leave the Episcopate of Ohio are, since the appointment of my excellent successor in that diocese, and of myself to the diocese of Illinois, now made plain to my mind. God had a greater work for me to do than to remain there, and that was the improving and the building up of the pure protestant church on the banks of the Mississippi.

However much in the meantime I may have suffered, it doth not matter, since it was God's will. It is nothing compared with what the Blessed and Divine Saviour [wills] for me.

your Ladyship's most faithful and
most grateful Friend and Servant,
Philander Chase of **Illinois**

Bishop's Court. Isle of Mann
October 27, 1835

My very dear Brother [Bishop Chase],

You dear, indefatigable Apostle of the New World—are you again arrived in our ultima thule? Fighting your way to the Heavenly Canaan under the banner fo the Cross, you add territory to territory in your victorious march from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi. Unlike the Conquerors of the Earth spreading terror and desolation, you are promoting peace upon earth and bringing down good will towards men.

I will forthwith announce your arrival to Lady Ross and enclose your Appeal, which I hope you will get inserted in all the periodical prints and newspapers. The good and munificent Lady Ross has lately sent £250 to my Church building Fund, and though I expect still more from her bountiful hand, yet I will not be so selfish as not to urge your wants, which should be reckoned the common wants of the Apostolic Church of God.

As I mean to enclose with this a letter of yours respecting the dear Wiggins family which I am ashamed to say I have so long neglected to communicate to them—but it is better late than never. They will of course tell you of it, and they must take care to return it to me, as I wish to be master of your character of West, and some parts of it [are] as applicable to Illinois as to Gilead. My Mary will now change her name from Mary Ohio to Mary Illinois. She is with Lord and Lady Ripon at Ternbridge Wells, where I am sure she will be glad and surprised to hear from you if you can find time to write to her. My Charlotte is gone to Heaven; if she had remained here on earth, she would have been overjoyed to have seen you. We shall all be overjoyed to see you at Bishop's Court, if you will condescend to visit the Isle of Mann. My Archdeacon is in England. I will desire him to call upon you that you may send me a number of your Appeals. I shall hope to hear from you from time to time.

Ever your faithful and affectionate Brother,
W. Sodor and Mann[22]

November 25, 1835
London

My dear Wife,

11 o'clock at night. Nov. 25th, 1835.

A paper having been submitted to my consideration embracing a plan for the formation of a company to purchase Lands in Illinois

to the amount of several Townships, which plan contained an Item for the **appropriation** of fifty thousand Dollars for the encouragement of schools and churches from the original fund, it was this night agreed by me to set the Seminary on the said lands if the following condition should be by the Company agreed to and settled. Viz.,

That the said $50,000 be put at the disposal of the Bishop of Illinois to be by him laid out on one Section of land 640 acres, given by the Company and deeded by them to the Seminary for that purpose, the said Seminary to be used for the Education of young men for the Christian Ministry in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Also that one church be erected on every township of land subject to the order of the Bishop of the Diocese—Agreed—agreed by Mr. Wiggin and Bishop Chase. And now, my dear Wife, my **Helpmate,** my fellow sufferer in all my troubles for the good of the Redeemer's Church! What think you of this great blessing? Can it be possible you will say that the good God hath been thus merciful to us to open this great door of usefulness to us unworthy beings? What am I, that I should be thus honoured by him in whose eyes I am nothing?

But this thing you'll say is not consummated. I know it. But I believe God is **able** to finish what he hath thus auspiciously begun. Whether he will be **willing** remains to be seen. One thing, however, is certain: that whatever He doth will be right and just and holy and that which will eventuate in his own glory, and this ought and shall be sufficient to make me satisfied. My prayers founded on his Promises in Jesus Christ are now and ever offered that this great work may receive his blessing.

26

I read this morning another letter from Lord Bexley. His Lordship is glad that I am going to Oxford to see the excellent characters there, and that I shall become personally acquainted with that worthy and best of friends, Mrs. Tyndale. He says also I need not make haste to come back to London, for he intends when he comes to St. George St. to stay till the twelfth of December. He mentions also the Archbishop of Tuam, that it will be some time before His Grace will find the Clergymen suited to my purpose, and after all things are arranged as to men and means to get them to America, that it will in his Lordship's opinion be quite proper that I go myself to Ireland rather than have the clergymen come **here** and be an expense while we get acquainted. Under Lord Ripon's frank I received also other good letter from Mary C. Ward, full of kind zeal and affection.

The Rev. Mr. Bowdley, when here yesterday, told me that Bishop Ives of North Carolina was still in London. As this worthy Brother did me the great favour of calling on me as soon as I arrived in England, I shall call on him today and get him to take charge of this

and some other letters. Mr. Wiggin told me just now at Breakfast that he thought I had better break the subject of the late shameful attack on me in the **Churchman** and see what the Bishop thought of it, and I should tell the Bishop what he and the rest of my friends in England thought it. This I think I shall do, at the same time giving the Bishop a hint of what is doing for me from another quarter. This at least will show how fruitless and impotent are the endeavours of my enemies when the Divine Providence sees fit in infinite mercy to bless me. I feel my unworthiness but can not but rejoice that God putteth it out of the power of the wicked and proud men to triumph over me.

I have not said half enough to you my dear wife on the subject of your last letter dated sixth of October. It was written in haste but is none the less dear to me. When the mind is labouring with thoughts on a great subject and the heart deeply agitated with feeling of attachment to a temporal object and of love to God and submission to his will in protracted separation and painful deprivations, **short expressions** are the most affecting. Certainly these are so to an intense degree to one who can never cease to love and admire you, your Husband

P.C.

Robin's Nest, in Township 10
Range 6 East
11 miles N.E. of Peoria, Illinois
September 5, 1836

Dear Nephew [Intrepid Morse],

You will laugh when reading the place of my date, but it is nevertheless true in all its particulars. My nearest Post Town is at present **Peoria,** of which information I hope you will soon avail yourself.

If you ask who are with me, I answer those who love you dearly, the same as have accompanied me in all my wanderings, with the exception of the absence of Dudley, who is at Hartford in Connecticut, and the presence of Jane Hamilton, a young and faithful and **Christian** domestic whom we have [so] attached to the interest of our family that she insisted on accompanying us from Gilead to this Diocese.

If you should still inquire what is our situation, the answer would be more difficult. It is on the frontier of one, and far distant from another settlement, and the only place we have to live in was a few weeks ago growing in the trees of the wood. Two small cabins were reared by two brothers, squatters on Congress lands; and when they were yet without floors or windows or doors or sleepers or chimney

I bought them and the privileges attached, which were nothing more than common consent to go on unmolested. One of these cabins I unroofed and tore down and drew to the place of the other and there erected it again, thus making what is called a double cabin with a twelve foot space. In this space I put up a Rotary cooking stove and in one of the cabins laid a floor and placed a Franklin stove with a grate in it for the burnings of coal, of which there is an abundance in the place. I have a carpenter now at work in laying the floor of the other part of each cabin, and we hope to have things soon in a comfortable way for new beginners, even though they be not young (as once) to bear deprivation and toil.

Mrs. Chase, I am sorry to tell you, is quite sick. Her great desire to be useful while she was an itinerant in the neighborhood and to minister to the sick, [exposed?] her too much and she now has the fever. Its violence, however, begins to subside and we hope for the best. The presence of Mrs. Russell and Mary and the boys, lately arrived from Joliet (where they were left while we were exploring the country and fixing our place of residence) contribute much to the comfort and peace of mind of my dear wife. And now we have moved to our **home** (a very dear word). I repeat the hope I have she will recover soon. I am now writing this by her bedside as she dozes in a feverish sleep. O dear Intrepid, what should I **now** do if it were not for our Holy Faith? As it is, I am calm and feel a support which the world knows nothing of. **Futurity** hath the promises. The present hath duties, but few enjoyments but those which **look forward.**

Will you send me by some friend coming directly to Peoria garden seeds of all sorts. Those which you sent to Gilead to supply the place of those which were burned with our house did not come to hand. Will you send me also a peck of apple seeds, also of black locust seeds, one bushel of orchard grass seed, and as many trees—peaches, pears, plumbs, cherries, and grafted apple trees in a young and small state as you can spare. If this letter should reach you soon and the opportunity should speedily occur of sending them, all these things may reach me before cold weather should set in, especially if the roots of the trees be well secured with mats.

I have purposely omitted saying anything about my **Episcopal School.** Of this I hope to have much good news in store. Write soon to me. Give all love to those who are under your roof and [ ] most clear to your loving wife.

P.C.

May 20, 1837

To the President of the United States.

Dear Sir:

It is the object of this letter most respectfully and earnestly to solicit that, the Township of Land, Ten North and Six East in Peoria County, State of Illinois, with others adjacent similarly circumstanced be brought into market.

On this Township I am now residing with my family and mean to establish a Seminary of learning deemed of great benefit to the public, but am prevented from erecting the necessary buildings for want of a legal title.

Will you have the great goodness to give direction to the Land Office at Quincy necessary to the attainment of my object and thus be the means of much good and preventing much evil to the public, for I assure your Excellency all disinterested and public spirited persons far and near will be gratified and none but speculators will be disappointed by the legal sale of the lands in question.

The Honorable Members of the Delegation to Congress from Illinois will, it is hoped, join me in this petition and perhaps explain further the reasons which urge me to make it, and press it on your Excellency's notice.

Most sincerely I am
Your Excellency's
Most faithful Friend
and very Humble Servant
Philander Chase
Bishop of Illinois

St. Louis
November 29, 1839

Very Dear Nephew [Samuel Chase],[23]

I am now on board the St. Louis nearly ready to set off for new Orleans. I feel an unshaken faith in the goodness and wisdom of Divine Providence, whatever the result of my present undertaking. If I die in the experiment I am now making for the benefit of the beloved Diocese, from my grave will arise one who will gather from my example encouragement to fulfill what I have begun, and arguments to convince them to assist him in the good work. If I be successful and return once more to the bosom of my family and the loving society on Jubilee Hill, we will have double cause for gratitude

and for spending the remainder of our days in **praise** and prayer—praise for the unnumbered mercies of God, and prayer lest we become, like others would, pleased with the gift and forget the **Giver.**

I spent the last night with Bishop Kemper and the two presbyters, the Rev. Messrs. **Peake** and **Minard.** They all seemed glad to see me and bade me **God Speed.**

Bishop Kemper gave me for the College		$20
Mr. Hunt the R.M.		$20
Mr. Davis (H.N.)		$20
Dr. H.L. Hoffman		$10
C. Klein		$ 5
	paid	75

The Rev. Mr. P.R. Minard to be P.G.?

In regard to the Memorandum you gave me, the following is the condition I have left that business.

The uncertainty about the River Illinois being again open to Peoria made me leave the **fulfillment** of the order for the articles **conditioned** on that event taking place. If the ice should give way Mr. H.N. Davis is to ship all the articles by the steamboat to care of Curtenius at Peoria, and wait for his pay till I return or shall order him paid by wife. Should the river remain closed, you must give up all hopes of being supplied from St. Louis. In which latter case you must apply to Mrs. Chase for some coffee and sugar and get on as well as you can. But such is the state of the weather I have reason to hope the River will open before it closes finally for the winter as the ice in the Mississippi is quite soft and fast disappearing.

I think much of you and the dear ones under your roof and never cease to pray for you all that the good [God] may shower his choicest blessings on yours.

I am sorry that no letter nor papers have reached me from the Robins Nest. The delays are many. I excuse you all on that account.

My cold does not abate: it has settled down on my lungs. Yet I feel in good spirits and have been about town this day as if nothing was the matter. A slight headache accompanies me all the time. This is the truth and **all** the truth. So you need not feel alarmed about my health.

I think I shall have time to write a few **last words** to my dear wife before I set off for New Orleans, but if not give her my love and believe me as ever

Your most affectionate uncle
Philander Chase

NOTES

[1]This remains obscure, but apparently *The House that Jack Built* was an appeal to the English clergy put together by the Bishops of New York and Connecticut for the seminary in New York. It incorporated elements of Chase's case for Ohio, and was probably circulated immediately before Chase arrived in England.

[2]John Henry Hobart (1775-1830), Third Bishop of New York, son of royalist parents, conservative, founder of the General Seminary and of Hobart College, and editor of *The Churchman's Magazine*, which he used throughout his lifetime to discredit Chase. Hobart learned of Chase's intent to solicit donations in England and found cause to visit the mother country himself. He arrived ahead of Chase in 1824 and, by the time Chase arrived, had so turned the nation against Ohio that Chase nearly despaired. Providentially, the Bishop of St. David's observed that the same logic which forbad Chase's establishing a seminary in Ohio would forbid establishing a seminary in Wales, came to the aid of Bishop Chase, "sweetly smiled on the writer when the whole nation was frowning by reason of false reports" (*Bishop Chase's Reminiscences;* Boston: 1848, 2, 239), and introduced Chase to the Archbishops of York and Canterbury.

[3]Rev. Nathaniel Sheldon Wheaton was at the time soliciting contributions for Trinity College, Connecticut, the first buildings of which were erected in 1825. One early contributor was Lord Kenyon. Wheaton later became a missionary in Michigan.

[4]Philander Chase, Jr. (1798-1824), educated at Harvard, taught school at Worthington (Ohio), ordained a deacon by his father in 1820.

[5]Nathaniel Bowen (1779-1824), Bishop of South Carolina and an early supporter of Chase, whose letter of March 2, 1824 announced the death of young Philander.

[6]Mr. Timothy Wiggan, a Londoner, had visited Chase when Chase resided in Hartford, Connecticut. Their paths crossed again in November, 1823, and Wiggan became one of Chase's most enthusiastic proponents in both Kenyon and Jubilee.

[7]The name Thomas Bates comes, as it were, out of left field; he was not a major contributor to Kenyon. Indeed, Chase nowhere mentions his name in his reminiscences of his travels through England in 1824. He may have been connected with the English trustees of Kenyon.

[8]George Montgomery West came to Bishop Chase in 1827 with letters of introduction from some of his closest English friends, when Chase was in New England, with a plan whereby Chase would ordain West and then West would return to England to raise funds for Kenyon. West was sent by Chase back to Kenyon, there to await the Bishop's return and formulation of further plans. West remained in Ohio for some time, however, ambitious and opportunistic, and somehow convinced that Chase had marked him as the next Bishop of Ohio. At the Convention of 1830 West addressed the delegates, accusing Chase of mismanagement, specifically claiming that funds contributed for one purpose were applied to other purposes, and that only Chase himself could understand the college's finances. This charge resulted in an investigation which opened the door to long-harbored grievances among the Kenyon faculty and which lead, finally, to Chase's resignation. West continued to attack Chase, verbally and in print, throughout the 1830s.

[9]Chase was intimate with several Grays in the city of York, who, on his visit of 1824, had introduced him to the Archbishop of York.

[10]Rev. James Selkrig (1790-1877), missionary to Michigan in 1834, organized parishes at Niles and St. Joseph, then relocated near Bradley, Indiana in 1839, where he remained until his death.

[11]Palmer Dyer, who accompanied James Selkrig on his journey of 1834, continued on from St. Joseph to Gilead, to visit Chase. After his missionary stint in Michigan and Illinois, Dyer returned to New York, where he drowned in 1844.

[12]Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, Second Bishop of Ohio, Chase's successor in that diocese.

[13]Rev. Dr. Intrepid Morse (1791-1865), Chase's nephew, ordained a deacon in 1818 and a priest (by Bishop Chase) in 1819. He served parishes in Zanesville and Steubenville, a hundred miles apart, and many churches between and around.

[14]The same, Intrepid Morse.

[15]The daughter of Mr. Timothy Wiggan, Chase's supporter in London.

[16]Interestingly, Sir Charles Vaughan is *not* listed by Chase (in the *Reminiscences)* as a fellow passenger on the St. James.

[17]The transcription reads, "To the end (it of all on board and who all were like myself in the arms of sleep there was no unnecessary outcry."

[18]The transcription reads. ". . . attending this awful scene we have the whole ships company. . . ."

[19]Dudley Chase (1771-1846), representative in the Vermont state legislature (1803-1812), United States Senator (1812-1817 and 1825-1831), and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont (1817-1821).

[20]The transcription reads, "What are we bless this of *all* the enjoyments of this fleeting course of life! — of mine and yours in particular."

[21]Lady Rosse gave Chase 400 pounds for Kenyon in 1824 (whence Rosse Chapel in the original Old Kenyon).

[22]It is interesting and significant that the most fervent English supporters of Bishop Philander Chase of Ohio and then Illinois were those most removed from London: at St. David (Wales), Sodor and Mann, St. Asaph's, Durham, Chester.

[23]Samuel Chase was Vice President of Jubilee College during most of its existence, and President of the college after Philander Chase's death in 1852.

THE MIDWESTERN POETRY OF ELIZA SNOW

John E. Hallwas

Eliza Snow is virtually unknown to modern literary scholarship, and even in her own time she went unrecognized. Although she began writing poems for newspapers in the 1820s and published a collection of lyrics in 1856, she was not included in William T. Coggeshall's *Poets and Poetry of the West* (1860), which contained works by more than 150 midwestern poets. In our own century, a selection of her writings was published by a foundation associated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of which Snow was an important early member, but unfortunately that volume omits some of her finest poems and lacks editorial comment.[1] More recently, her Nauvoo journal has appeared in print, which includes a few hitherto unpublished lyrics.[2] Her relationship with Joseph Smith and her subsequent role within the Church have been discussed by a few Mormon scholars, but no one has had much to say about her poetry.[3] This is unfortunate, for she is one of the few poets of the early Midwest who wrote lyrics that deserve a continuing readership by those interested in the region's literary history.

I

Eliza Roxey Snow was born in Becket, Massachusetts in 1804, the second of seven children. Her family moved to Mantua, Ohio when she was a small child, and as a schoolgirl there she often wrote her lessons in rhyme. While growing up, she did secretarial work for her father, Oliver Snow, who was a successful businessman and public official. Eliza began writing poems while still a youth, and some of them were published in Ohio newspapers, beginning in the summer of 1826.

During her teenage years, she became acquainted with the leader of the Disciples of Christ, Alexander Campbell, and some of his

Eliza R. Snow. Courtesy of Church Archives, The Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints.

associates — including Sidney Rigdon, who would later be a chief advisor to Joseph Smith. After a brief membership in the Disciples of Christ, she was baptized into the Mormon Church in 1835, along with her mother and older sister. Shortly afterward, she moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where she taught a "select school" for young women and lived with Joseph Smith and his family. Soon, at the urging of Eliza and her mother, her father and brother also joined the Church.

In 1838 the Snow family journeyed with the Latter-day Saints to Missouri, first to the community of Far West, from which the Saints were driven later that year, and then to Adam-ondi-Ahman. In 1839 they were forced to flee the state with the rest of their religious group because of the conflict that had developed between Mormons and non-Mormons. A few of Snow's best poems relate to that difficult experience in Missouri.

Like most of the Church members, the Snows followed prophet Joseph Smith to Commerce, Illinois (soon called Nauvoo), where Eliza taught school and became prominent in the Mormon Relief Society. While there she contributed many poems to the local newspaper, *The Times and Seasons.* Some of her lyrics became Mormon hymns, the most popular of which is "Invocation, or the Eternal Father and Mother" (commonly called "O My Father, Thou That Dwellest"). In 1842 she was secretly married to the Mormon prophet under the doctrine of plural wives (which was not made public until 1843).

Two years after Smith was killed at Carthage, she migrated westward with the Latter-day Saints, suffering considerably from exposure and sickness during the journey. In October of 1847 her company finally reached the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah, where she lived with the family of Smith's successor, Brigham Young. In 1849 she became one of Young's plural wives. During the years that followed at Salt Lake City, she was the most prominent woman in the Church, managing the women's work in the Endowment House, leading the Women's Relief Society, and continuing to write religious poetry and prose. She died on December 5, 1887.

II

Most of Snow's poetry was published in a two-volume collection, *Poems: Religious, Historical, and Political* (vol. I, 1856; vol. II, 1877), which is still the only complete — or substantially complete — edition of her lyrics. The first of these volumes is important to scholarship in midwestern literature, for it contains several dozen poems that were written in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois from the 1820s to 1846. While only a small number of them are Snow's finest works, they nevertheless constitute a distinctive achievement in early midwestern poetry.

Since few of the poems are dated, it is difficult to determine when the first several lyrics — undoubtedly written in Ohio — were produced. Perhaps the earliest poem is "Juvenile Hymn," evidently written in her teens, which begins with a statement of her commitment to writing religious poetry:

> I'll serve the Lord while I am young,
> And in my early days,
> Devote the music of my tongue
> To my Redeemer's praise.[4]

One non-religious poem, "The Red Man of the South," is dated 1830, and presumably a similar but undated one entitled "The Red Man of the West" was written at the same time. A few others in the collection were probably also written before the poet was baptized into the Latter-day Saints Church in 1835. In any case, none of her non-Mormons poems is of any literary value. Other early lyrics, like "Evening Thoughts, or What It Is to Be a Saint" and "Two Chapters of the Life of President Joseph Smith," reveal the significance of Church membership for the poet. In the former, she proclaims that when she joined the Saints, "Eternal prospects open'd to my view,/ And hope celestial in my bosom glow'd" (p. 3). In the latter, she invokes God's help to write about the Mormon prophet, which suggests that Snow felt she had found a significant purpose for herself as a poet:

> The Seer and Prophet of the latter days
> Is now my theme — his history help me trace;
> For thy approval, Lord, shall prompt my pen,
> Regardless of the praise or blame of men. (p. 15)

No poet of the early Midwest displays a more elevated commitment to his or her literary function than Eliza Snow.

The turbulent events in Missouri during the late 1830s launched the most significant period of Snow's poetic career, for she became a lyrical commentator on the struggles of the Mormons in the Midwest. The opening lines of "The Gathering of the Saints" proclaim her awakening to that new public role:

> Awake! my slumbering Minstrel; thou hast lain
> Like one that's number'd with th'unheeded slain!
> Unlock thy music — let thy numbers flow
> Like torrents bursting from the melting snow. (p. 7)

These were the most powerful lines that Snow had yet written, and indeed, the entire 198-line poem, an important achievement in her canon, was by far the finest work she had yet produced. One of her few dated poems, it was written on October 24, 1838.

"The Gathering of the Saints" may be characterized as a brief epic about the Mormon migration to Missouri and their subsequent persecution by local mobs. The poet describes the exile of the Saints from Jackson County, where the prophet had declared that Zion would be located:

> In Jackson County, first, they purchas'd land,
> Where earth's Metropolis in time will stand.
> On that choice soil, obtaining *legal right*,
> Their hearts exulted with intense delight;
> But lo! as yet, the Saints could not be blest
> With the possession of eternal rest.
>
> A lawless mob, the nation's deep'ning stain,
> Like beasts of prey that ravage o'er the plain,
> Pour'd forth its rage, and, in extremity,
> From their dear homes the Saints were forc'd to flee! (p. 9)

Then she mentions the problems within the Church in Kirtland, Ohio — "Where wheat and tares to such a height had grown/ That Saints could scarce from hypocrites be known!" (p. 10) — which caused the prophet to order his followers there to relocate in Missouri. After they arrived at the community of Adam-ondi-Ahman, more violence erupted, and since Snow had come west with those more recent emigrants, she displays a detailed knowledge of the situation in that pioneer village:

> Hemm'd in by foes — depriv'd the use of mill,
> Necessity inspir'd their patient skill.
> Tin pails and stove-pipes, from their service torn,
> Are chang'd to graters to prepare the corn,
> That nature's wants may barely be supplied —
> They ask no treat, no luxury beside;
> Determin'd to maintain the sacred post,
> In spite of earth, in spite of Satan's host!
> Conscious their actions were approv'd on high,
> They dar'd the battlefield, nor fear'd to die.
> They had no armor such as Hector wore,
> Nor yet the arms that proud Achilles bore;
> But, with the God of battles for their shield,
> They were content the sword and gun to yield. (p. 12)

The above references to Homer's *Iliad* — together with her opening invocation to God for help with the poem — are an indication of Snow's epic pretentions. Her model for the poem was not a classical epic, however, but the epic-like Old Testament story of the Hebrews' quest for their promised land under the leadership of Moses.

She closes the poem by asserting that there was no legal recourse, and hence no justice, for the church members in Missouri: "The official powers of State are *sheer pretence*,/ When they're

exerted in the Saints' defence" (p. 14). This was indeed the case, for public opinion in Missouri was generally against the Mormons by the late 1830s. What Snow does not mention — quite naturally — is that Mormon declarations of coming religious and cultural dominance, which seemed to be supported by their large migrations into the state, caused the widespread animosity that unfortunately resulted in mob violence and led to the breakdown of legal remedies for the Church members. However, she does indicate the Mormon view of Missouri as their promised land, which suggests their determination to overwhelm or displace, rather than blend in with, frontier society:

> Joseph's [i.e. Smith's] and Judah's records join'd in one,
> A powerful instrument have now become
> To gather up the Saints, a noble band
> That will possess the consecrated land. (p. 8)

Although "The Gathering of the Saints" is a rather uneven poem, it is an interesting and sometimes powerful narrative that is unlike anything else in early midwestern poetry. It also clearly reflects Snow's Puritan roots in her native Massachusetts, for the devout seventeenth-century New Englanders had also felt that they were God's chosen people, fleeing from oppression to establish a New Eden.

When the Saints were driven from Missouri the following year — after the massacre of Church members near Shoal Creek — they sought refuge at Quincy, Illinois. In that temporary location, Snow wrote several poems that continued her role as lyrical spokesman for the Church. For example, "To the Citizens of Quincy" (dated April, 1839) is a poem of appreciation to those who gave the Mormons assistance, and "To a Revolutionary Father" (dated May, 1839) is a similar lyric, directed to a veteran of the Revolutionary War who took in some of the Saints. The latter is an effective poem, for Snow views the old man as a representative of those who fought for justice and freedom — hence, a figure who sharply contrasts with the lawless Missourians:

> Thou aged man! I bless thy hoary head —
> Blest be each vet'ran in our country's cause.
> To you from persecution's rage we've fled,
> To seek protection of those sacred laws —
> Those laws for which our noble fathers fought,
> Which in Missouri have been set at naught.
> . . . . . .
> Thrust from our homes, where once we dwelt secure,
> Like wayward pilgrims, to your house we come;
> Houseless and homeless — shelterless and poor,
> Beneath your kindly roof we find a home,
> And find a heart to Freedom's cause yet true —
> Unlike Missouri's lawless, mobbing crew. (p. 77)

Later that year, after most of the Mormons had followed Joseph Smith to their new location at Nauvoo, *The Times and Seasons* carried Snow's most impressive poem about the troubles in Missouri. "Slaughter of the Saints on Shoal Creek, Mo." is an impassioned condemnation of the Missourians for their most outrageous atrocity, the massacre of Mormons at Haun's Mill, near Shoal Creek. As the following passages demonstrate, the lyric effectively describes one of the most brutal acts in the history of the Midwest:

> Here in the land that free men call their home,
> Far from the influence of papal Rome —
> Yes, in a "*mild and tolerating age,*"
> The Saints have fallen 'neath the barb'rous rage
> Of men inspir'd by that misjudging hate
> Which ignorance and prejudice create.
> . . . . . .
>
> Twas not enough for that infernal crew
> To murder men — they shot them through and through!
> Frantic with rage, they pour'd their molten lead
> Profusely on the dying and the dead!
> . . . . . .
>
> The savage foes, with greedy av'rice fir'd,
> Plunder'd their murder'd victims and retir'd;
> And at the shadowy close of parting day
> In slaughter'd heaps husbands and fathers lay!
> There lay the dead and there the dying ones —
> The air reverberating with their groans! (pp. 54-55)

Snow's ability to give distinctive and powerful rhythms to her poetic lines is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in this poem.

In the years that followed at Nauvoo, the poet regularly contributed lyrics to *The Times and Seasons,* such as "The Nauvoo Legion" (about the city's militia, which was created to prevent a repetition of the Missouri experience) and "The Temple of God" (about the famous Mormon temple, which was not quite completed before the Saints were forced to leave Illinois). A few of her poems focus on the Mormon prophet himself, including a couple which clearly achieve their poetic purposes. "To He Knows Who" offers support — and perhaps helpful advice — to the Prophet during a period in 1843 when he was hiding from the law. (He was being sought for extradition to Missouri, to stand trial for conspiracy to assassinate Governor Liburn Boggs.) It closes with the following lines:

> Hide yourself in the forest, secure from the blast,
> Awhile, till the storm of their fury is past,
> For your foes are pursuing and hunting you still —
> May the God of our forefathers screen you from ill. (p. 133)

The lyric must have had a special poignancy for Snow, for by that time she had secretly become one of Smith's plural wives. As one might expect, when the Mormon prophet and his brother were killed in June of 1844, she wrote a lyric which described them as martyrs. One of her better works, "The Assassination of Generals Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith" effectively presents the magnitude of the act from the Mormon point of view:

> Ye heavens attend! Let all the earth give ear.
> Let God and seraphs, men and angels hear —
> The worlds on high — the universe shall know
> What awful scenes are acted here below!
> . . . . . .
>
> For never since the Son of man was slain
> Has blood so noble flowed from human vein
> As that which now on God for vengeance calls
> From freedom's ground — from Carthage prison walls.
> . . . . . .
>
> Oh wretched murd'rers! fierce for human blood!
> You've slain the Prophets of the living God,
> Who've borne oppression from their early youth
> To plant on earth the principles of truth. (p. 142)

After the assassination, conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons in western Illinois continued, and there was much talk among the Saints about moving further west. Snow captured the mood of Church members at that time in a lyric entitled "Let Us Go," which includes the following stanzas:

> Let us go, let us go, to the ends of the earth —
> Let us go far away from the land of our birth;
> For the banner of Freedom no longer will wave
> O'er the patriot's tomb — o'er the dust of the brave.
> . . . . . .
>
> Let us go, let us go to the wilds for a home,
> Where the wolf and the deer and the buffalo roam,
> Where the life-inspir'd "Eagle" in liberty flies,
> Where the mountains of Israel in majesty rise.
> . . . . . .
>
> Let us go, let us go where our rights are secure,
> Where the waters are clear and the atmosphere pure,
> Where the hand of oppression has never been felt,
> Where the blood of the Prophets has never been spilt. (pp. 146-47)

As these lines indicate, numerous parallelisms contribute to the effect of the poem, as it insistently urges the Saints to leave their beloved city on the Mississippi — and the United States — for the western wilderness, with its promise of a lasting refuge from persecution.

Snow's final midwestern poems, "Camp of Israel, No. 1" and "Camp of Israel, No. 2," describe the beginning of the now-famous Mormon trek to the Great Salt Lake Valley — the largest mass migration in American history. The title-phrase, "Camp of Israel," indicates that the poet felt the Saints were a modern equivalent of the Old Testament people of Israel — and, indeed, this was their exodus. The first of these lyrics (dated February 19, 1846), is really a song, written to inspire the unfortunate Mormons at the outset of their late-winter journey. It is not one of the poet's better works. The other is dated March 1, 1846, and it depicts the breaking up of their first encampment west of the Mississippi. A much more successful work, it is clearly intended to encourage the Saints to maintain their faith in God's providence:

Lo! a mighty host of Jacob,
  Tented on the western shore
Of the noble Mississippi,
  Which they had been crossing o'er.
At the last day-dawn of winter,
  Bound with frost and wrapp'd in snow;
Hark! the cry is, "Onward! onward!
  Camp of Israel! rise and go."

All at once is life and motion —
  Trunks and beds and baggage fly;
Oxen yok'd and horses harness'd.
  Tents roll'd up and passing by;
Soon the carriage wheels are moving
  Onward to a woodland dell,
Where at sunset all are quarter'd —
  Camp of Israel! all is well.

Thickly round the tents are cluster'd;
  Neighb'ring smokes together blend;
Supper serv'd, the hymns are chanted
  And the evening prayers ascend.
Last of all, the guards are station'd —
  Heavens! must guards be serving here?
Who would harm the houseless exiles?
  Camp of Israel! never fear.

Where is freedom? where is justice?
  Both have from this nation fled;
And the blood of Martyr'd Prophets
  Must be answer'd on its head!
Therefore, to your tents, O Jacob!
  Like our father Abra'm dwell;
God will execute His purpose —
  Camp of Israel! all is well. (pp. 163-64)

The lyric has an appealing vigor of expression, and the detailed description in stanzas two and three is noteworthy at a time when most midwestern poetry did not reflect the reality of life on the frontier.

Although most of Eliza Snow's midwestern lyrics are mediocre, the best of her works are, at the very least, equal in quality to the finest lyrics of such better-known poets of the pre-Civil War Midwest as William Gallagher and Otway Curry. In particular, "The Gathering of the Saints," "Slaughter of the Saints on Shoal Creek, Mo.," "The Assassination of Generals Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith," "Let Us Go," and "Camp of Israel, No. 2" are strikingly original in subject matter, rhythmically powerful, and remarkably free from the all-too-common excesses of romantic diction and sentimentality. They are the central items in one of the most interesting poetic achievements of the early Midwest.

NOTES

[1]See *Eliza R. Snow, an Immortal; Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Foundation, 1957). This volume includes Snow's "Sketch of My Life," along with various other works of poetry and prose.

[2]Maureen Ursenbach, "Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal," *Brigham Young University Studies,* 15 (1975), 391-416. According to a footnote to this article, a new volume of Eliza Snow's collected poems is in preparation.

[3]See Samuel Taylor, "The Poet and the Prophet," *Nightfall at Nauvoo* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 136-66; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The Eliza Enigma: The Life and Legend of Eliza R. Snow," in *Essays on the American West, 1974-1975,* ed. Thomas G. Alexander; Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 6 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 29-46, and Jil C. Mulvay, "Eliza R. Snow and The Woman Question," *Brigham Young University Studies,* 16 (1976), 250-64.

[4]*Poems: Religious, Historical and Political,* I (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856), p. 44. All quotations are from this volume of Snow's poems.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FRONTIER TOWNS IN PIKE COUNTY: AN 1850 CENSUS SURVEY

Juliet E. K. Walker

Frontier towns played an important role in the development of wilderness areas. As multifunctional trading centers, they provided goods and services for dispersed farm populations, and they developed economies distinguished by diverse craft trades, manufacturing, merchandising, commercial, and professional activities. That these towns appeared early in the settlement of Mid-American frontiers reflected the highly commercialized backgrounds of nineteenth century pioneer settlers. As Lewis Atherton's study of the frontier merchant in Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri emphasizes, the diversity of a town's occupational structure, rather than the size of its hinterland farm population, encouraged the development of Mid-American frontier communities. In the period from 1820 to the Civil War, Atherton shows that the transition to established communities on the Midwestern frontier began when merchants, bankers, lawyers, craftsmen, and other "town functionaries" established businesses to meet the more specialized needs of the pioneer farmer.[1]

In Mid-America, agricultural production beyond self-sufficiency was the primary economic interest of pioneer farmers. Few had the time, inclination, or productive resources needed to manufacture even the most basic farm tools and machinery required for the development of commercial agricultural units in the nineteenth century. On the frontier, improved transportation, roads, canals, steamboats, and eventually railroads, which encouraged the expansion of commercial agriculture, also stimulated town economies. Accordingly, town occupational expansion kept pace with agricultural expansion. With greater specialization in craft trades, mercantile establishments, and professional services, the functions of frontier towns soon conformed to the more recognized urban patterns. In Pike County, Illinois, an 1850 census survey shows that the combined occupational distribution

of the frontier population, in twenty of the county's towns, reflected in microcosm the more diverse pattern traditionally associated with the state's larger towns.[2]

Occupations in Early Illinois Frontier Towns

In Illinois, the frontier period spanned the early years of statehood from 1818 until the 1850s.[3] Yet, new towns, as they developed throughout this period, showed striking similarities in their occupational structure. During the initial settlement period the primary occupations basic to frontier towns were carpenter, merchant, blacksmith, shoemaker, wheelwright, cooper, and cabinetmakers. These occupations had remarkable stability and showed rates that remained constant over time during the frontier period. The occupational diversity that characterized Illinois frontier towns was evident in the early settlement of the state. Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman, who traveled throughout Illinois in 1817, found that once a town was established, tradesmen soon appeared, particularly carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, brick makers, and brick layers. As his commentaries show, he also pointed out that "others follow in course; — tanners, saddlers, tailors, hatters, tin-workers, &c. & c."[4] Birkbeck's perceptive comments on early Illinois frontier towns are also important because he details the process by which town development took place, a pattern of sequential, diverse occupational development:

> [First] a storekeeper builds a little framed store, and sends for a few cases of goods; and then a tavern starts up, which becomes the residence of a doctor and a lawyer, and the boarding-house of the storekeeper, as well as the resort of the weary traveller: soon follow a blacksmith and other handicraftsmen in useful succession: a schoolmaster, who is also the minister of religion becomes an important accession to this rising community. Thus the town proceeds, if it proceeds at all, with accumulating force, until it becomes the metropolis of the neighborhood. Hundreds of these speculations may have failed, but hundreds prosper; and thus trade begins and thrives, as population grows around these lucky spots; imports and exports maintaining their just proportion.[5]

Birkbeck's commentaries show that town development proceeded at a rapid pace on the Illinois frontier during the early settlement period, but as he also indicates, many of these towns did not survive. Lincoln's New Salem, founded in 1829, lasted only ten years. Still, within the brief period of its existence, the town's occupational structure reflects the diverse occupational pattern found in Illinois frontier towns before the Civil War. New Salem reached its peak development in four years, and in 1833 "contained about twenty-five families and at least thirty log or frame structures, among them a combination saw and grist mill, a tavern, three or four stores, a 'grocery' or saloon, a carding machine and storehouse for wool, a cooper shop,

a blacksmith shop and a tannery." The village also included among its residents, as Benjamin Thomas noted, "a shoemaker, a hatter, a wheelwright, a cabinet maker, and two doctors."[6]

The occupational similarity of Illinois frontier towns was also evident in Vandalia, the state's second capital, founded in 1820. In 1834, Vandalia's population was 1,000, ten times that of New Salem. Yet a comparison of their occupational structure shows a difference only in numbers. Vandalia in the mid-1830s had thirty-four carpenters, three cabinetmakers, three blacksmiths, six tailors, one wagon-maker, three house painters, four masons, three plasterers, and seven merchants. The occupational structure of frontier towns is also expressed in the diversity of their commercial and manufacturing activities. For Jacksonville, Illinois, a town founded in 1825, an 1834 traveler's guide reported that the town's business establishments included: sixteen stores, two druggist shops, three taverns, one steam flour mill, one saw mill, one cotton yarn manufactory, one distillery, two oil mills, two wool-carding factories, one tannery, three brick yards, and several boarding houses. Its population was about 600.[7]

Still, the progress of town development on the Illinois frontier was not always the same. Brush Hills, located just sixteen miles from Chicago, was platted as a town in 1835. A tavern was the town's first business, and the tavern keeper was also made the postmaster: "Gradually there was felt the need of a store, a church, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a doctor, and the town came into being." This process, however, took almost twenty years: the blacksmith shop was not established until 1844. By 1850 the town's population was 200, but its occupational distribution differed little from other Illinois towns founded in the frontier period.[8] Brush Hill's latent development was typical of many towns founded during the second decade of the frontier period in Illinois History, including most Pike County places platted as towns in the mid-1830s.

Origins of Pike County Towns, 1823-1850

Pike was one of the state's first counties, but its permanent boundaries were not established until 1825. It is located in western Illinois, being one of the southern counties of the Illinois Military Tract. The Illinois River borders Pike to the east and the Mississippi River marks its western boundary. The county encompasses an area of 780 square miles, and extends from twenty-four miles to thirty-four miles, north to south, and seventeen to thirty-six miles east to west.[9] Atlas, the first county seat, located on the Sny Cartee River, which flowed into the Mississippi some five miles west, was also Pike's first town. It was founded in 1823 and remained the only town for ten years. Then three towns were founded in the period 1833-1834, including Pittsfield, the permanent county seat. By 1840, twenty-three new

towns were platted in Pike County, reflecting the tremendous population growth of the county after 1835.[10] Pike County's population in 1830 was 2,396; by 1834, it had increased to 3,570, but it had almost doubled one year later, showing an increase to 6,037. Within four years, the population almost doubled again, and by 1840 it was 11,738.[11]

Several factors contributed to the county's rapid population growth during this period. Beginning in 1830, public land was put on sale for the first time in the Military Tract. Until then, only the possession of a military bounty land deed awarded to War of 1812 veterans provided assurance of legal title to land in this area. Then, too, liberal land laws in force after 1830 allowed the purchase of tracts as small as forty acres which could be quickly and profitably cultivated, thus encouraging settlement of both farmers and townspeople. Commercial agriculture in the tract began in the early 1830s, and steamboats were the principal carriers for agriculture trade in the area. Pike County land was highly productive, and the county's locational advantages were obvious: no point was more than twenty miles from either the Mississippi or Illinois rivers. With agriculture being the state's major industry, prospective settlers, whether townspeople or farmers, realized, as Theodore Carlson indicates in his study of the Military Tract, that expanding farm markets required "cheap and efficient transportation of goods to market," if profits were to be made.[12]

Panic of 1837 Stifles Pike County Town Development

The proposed construction of the Illinois-Michigan Canal precipitated the speculative wave of town founding that took place in Pike County from 1835 to 1836 when twenty towns were platted. While construction of the Canal began in 1836, the Panic of 1837 marked an end to town founding, and only two Pike County towns were platted that year. The depression which followed did little to encourage town founding and the development of existing towns was slow. On the Illinois frontier at that time, however, the criteria for a place to be classified as a town were not great. John Mason Peck, in his 1839 traveler's directory for Illinois, gave the following as his basis for a place to be considered a town: "In placing town sites on the map, the compilers desired to be impartial. . . . Hence they adopted a general principle, to place no town on the map unless it actually contained six dwelling houses including stores, and as many facilities."[13]

Included in this traveler's guide was a listing of several places in Pike County that were classified as towns: Griggsville, Florence (platted as Augusta), and Rockport. Four places were referred to as "pleasant villages": Pleasant Vale, Worcester (later known as Barry), Atlas and Perry. Pittsfield, the county seat, was also mentioned.

These places, as well as Kinderhook, were also included in Mitchell's 1837 guide. Among these towns, Perry had been singled out for a special description: it was said to have "two or three stores, several families and is a pleasant village."[14]

By the early 1840s, however, the effects of the depression in Illinois on town growth were catastrophic. In Pike County, town development had literally ceased. Even towns with locational advantages and with productive business enterprises found it difficult to survive. The sites of Barry and New Philadelphia, the only central Pike towns located on the county's principal east-west road, offered tremendous growth potential. Both towns were founded in 1836, but their development ceased during the depression. In 1841 a mail carrier who traveled this route pointed to the existence of only six buildings in the two towns.[15] Three were in New Philadelphia, a town founded by Free Frank, an ex-slave who had initially settled in the county in 1831.[16] One of the buildings was a general store which had been established in 1837.[17] The town of Barry was founded by representatives of a St. Louis, Missouri, business establishment. Barry's only business in 1841 was a sawmill which, along with two log cabin homes, were the other buildings described by the mail carriers. Yet, only two years earlier, Peck had described Barry as "a pleasant little village."

As late as 1843, the effects of the depression had virtually destroyed the economies of these frontier communities. In his discussion of Illinois during this period, Pooley indicates that "by 1843 every merchant had been forced into bankruptcy, money was scarce, farm produce was well-nigh worth less. . . . Much property was forfeited because of the inability to pay taxes."[18] Some town development, however, escalated after 1845 with the end of the depression, which marked the development of Pike County hamlets into settled frontier villages and towns. The effects of the depression, however, are revealed in contemporary descriptions of Pike County.

In one instance, as the Pike County newspaper shows, suggestions were made for the improvement of these towns. In a letter to the editor of the Pittsfield *Pike County Free Press,* one reader suggested that the attractiveness of town was determined by "the church, the school-house, fences, trees, bridges, roads, public squares, sidewalks, these are things which tell tales about people. A stranger seeking a location, can hardly think well of a place, in which the distinction between the house and the stye are not obvious."[19]

Even with the depression, Pike County showed a small but steady population increase with the addition of 4,000 new settlers between 1840 and 1845, when its population increased to 15,792. By 1850 Pike County's population was 18,819. In addition, three new towns were

founded: Summer Hill, St. Louis, and New Salem. While most of the new settlers were farmers, the increased prosperity of Pike County during this period marked its transition to an established frontier county, which was reflected in the diverse occupational distribution of its townspeople.

The 1850 Federal Manuscript Census Occupational Listings

The 1850 federal manuscript census provides information on the occupational distribution of Pike County townspeople.[20] Prior to its listings, newspapers, business records, traveler's gazeteers, personal papers, and state, county, and town government records are the most important sources available which provide information on town occupational distribution during the frontier period. County histories and atlases are also useful for identifying town businesses, town elites, and the business activities of the pioneer settler. Very little, if any, precise information on frontier town occupational structure, however, can be found in the 1840 federal manuscript census. All occupations are classified under seven broad categories: Mining; Agriculture; Commerce; Manufactures and Trades; Navigation of the ocean; Navigation of canals, lakes and rivers; and Learned Professions and Engineers. For Pike County in 1840, the federal manuscript shows the following occupational distribution: Agriculture, 3,454; Commerce, 63; Manufactures and Trades, 383; and Learned Professions and Engineers, 6.[21]

The 1840 manuscript census categorical organization of information also makes it difficult to even determine the existence of a town. The entire county population is listed together. In those instances where non-agricultural occupations are found consecutively listed, unless the names of people living in a specific town are known, there is no way to distinguish one town from another. The 1850 federal manuscript census, however, lists information according to county subdivisions such as townships and towns. In the larger towns and cities, listings were also made by wards, districts, or precincts. The federal manuscript census is also the most important source for determining the existence of small towns. The published 1850 census includes only the names and population information on cities and large or important towns. For Pike County, the 1850 published census lists only three towns: Pittsfield, population 657; Griggsville, population 585; and Perry, population 402.

The federal manuscript census of 1850, however, shows the existence of seventeen Pike towns not listed in the published schedules. Census information was taken by townships which were specifically delineated. Most Pike County census takers also made a distinction in their township listings between agricultural populations and town

TABLE 1
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PIKE COUNTY TOWNSPEOPLE, 1850

Occupations \ Town Names	Summer Hill	New Philadelphia	Martinsburg	New Salem	New Bedford	Florence	Kinderhook	Montezuma	Atlas	Detroit	New Canton	El Dara	Milton	New Hartford	Chambersburg	Rockport	Perry	Barry	Pittsfield	Griggsville	Occupations Total
Population, 1855	32	53	69	82	85	99	103 +	117	125	125	135	136	176	178	210	221	628	655	950	1,116	
Carpenter	-	-	1	1	4	1	2	5	1	6	4	5	4	-	5	1	12	10	20	16	97
Cooper	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	2	4	9	2	1	8	2	6	12	4	11	66
Blacksmith	-	1	-	1	1	4	2	2	-	-	2	2	4	-	2	3	5	9	9	10	57
Merchant	-	1	-	-	1	2	2	3	2	3	-	-	3	2	4	3	7	7	7	7	54
Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	5	9	7	14	41
Doctor	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	1	1	6	4	5	6	3	34
Wheelwright	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	4	16
Teacher	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	2	2	3	2	16
Shoemaker	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	3	2	3	15
Millwright	-	-	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	1	-	14
Teamster	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	4	5	14
Lawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	7	2	12
Grocery Keeper	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	11
Saddle & Harness Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	1	4	11
Wagon-maker	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	4	-	-	2	10
Tailor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	5	2	10
Cabinet-Maker	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	1	-	-	1	9
Clergyman	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	7
Painter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	7

Engineer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	6
Plasterer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Tavernkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	4
Brickmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	4
Govt. Official	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
Ferrymen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
City Constable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	3
Tinsmith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
Hotel Keeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Mattress Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Milliner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Butcher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Printer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Stone Mason	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
Dress Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Hatter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Editor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Post Master	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Daguerreotypist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Jeweler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Chairmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Druggist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Machinist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sash Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lumber Merchant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Miner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Wool Carder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Stagecoach Driver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Gunsmith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Baker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Rafter	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Woodchopper	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Boatbuilder	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Drover	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Illinois, Pike County," Manuscript Microcopy M-432, Reel 124; and Illinois State census, 1855, "Pike, Pulaski, Pope, and Putnam Counties," Illinois State Archives, Springfield.

populations. Before a listing of townspeople, some census-takers wrote the following statement: "The beginning of the town of [name of town]." Or, at the end of the listing indicated: "The end of the town of [name of town of]." Rarely were both statements given, marking the absolute distinction between a town population and a rural population. And, in some instances, no statements were made to indicate that the listings applied to a group of townspeople. The consecutive listings of non-agricultural occupations, however, suggest the existence of a town.

Still, without clear distinctions that delineate an aggregate town population, the process of determining the precise occupational distribution of townspeople is difficult. In frontier areas, some people with non-agricultural occupations lived outside towns while those listed as farmers lived in towns. Without clear determinants of town boundaries, even consecutive listings of non-agricultural occupations are not always clear indicators of the occupational distribution within a town. However, for the purpose of this study, detailing the occupational distribution of Pike County townspeople in 1850, the Illinois State Census for 1855 is used as a control data source. It lists the names of twenty Pike places referred to as "villages," giving their specific populations.[22] Thus, the 1855 state census provides a basis to confirm the existence of a town suggested by the non-agricultural occupational listings found in the 1850 federal manuscript census.

Table 1 ("Occupational Distribution of Pike County Townspeople, 1850") provides information on the population and occupations for each of those places in Pike County specifically listed as "villages" in the 1855 state census.[23] The population figure for each town is also the one listed in the Illinois Census. The occupations enumerated for each town in Table 1 were obtained from the 1850 federal manuscript census on Pike County and are listed in rank order of the most frequently occurring functions. The listings also show the persistence of those occupations basic to Illinois frontier towns which were identified as early as 1817 by Morris Birbeck. While a total of fifty-three distinct occupations are listed, Table 1 is not inclusive in detailing all the occupations in which Pike County townspeople participated, nor do the occupational listings suggest the variety of business, craft and service activities found in frontier communities in 1850.[24] In most instances, too, the occupation listed is that which provided the greater source of income for the individual. Or the occupational listing reflected the status or prestige accorded that occupation by the individual who reported it. On occasion, census takers sometimes made their own determinations, perhaps arbitrarily, as in the instance of one Pike County resident whose occupation was listed as "scoundrel." Even with these exceptions, Table 1 is important. It provides the only listings available on the 1850 occupational

distribution of individual towns in any one county located on the Midwestern frontier.[25]

Occupations of Women in Pike County Towns

With the exception of the two dressmakers and the three milliners, all figures reported are for employed males over age fifteen. The number of female teachers (eight) are included in the total for all teachers. Dressmaking, millinery, and teaching were the principal skilled occupations of townswomen on the Pike County frontier in 1850. A few Pike County women also worked as boarding house keepers (six), laundresses (four), and domestics (seven), but these occupations are not included in Table 1. The 1850 census did not require information on the occupations of women, and the occupational listings shown were made on an informal basis, usually determined by individual census takers. In Pike County, the occupational classification "housekeeper" was provided for women, married or single. While boarding house keeper was a separate occupational category, the distinction from that of housekeeper is not clear in the Pike County manuscript census. Identical surnames of residents listed in one dwelling provide one way to make the distinction between a housekeeper and a boarding house keeper, especially if it appears that the woman is single. Still, different surnames did not always indicate that the people listed in one dwelling were not related. In larger towns and cities, however, the distinction between the two occupational categories is more easily made. The number, age and sex distribution, and greater surname differences of residents listed in one dwelling, make it easier to distinguish a boarding house from a single-family dwelling. Few Pike County town households included more than six people, whereby the above criteria allowed for a valid determination to distinguish a housekeeper from a boarding house keeper.

Diversity of Occupational Participation

The sometimes limited demand for certain goods and services in frontier communities did not always require full-time occupational participation. Many occupations were similar in function because of the low degree of specialization and skill required to perform them. Where skill was required, economies of scale sometimes saw a diversification of specialization. Craft trade participation provides the most prevalent instances of multi-occupational participation. A cabinetmaker would sometimes perform the work of a chairmaker, a carpenter, a cooper, a sashmaker, a joiner, or even a wheelwright. A wheelwright could sometimes work as a wagonmaker or carriagemaker, and a blacksmith could also be a gunsmith and machinist.[26] The 1850

federal manuscript population schedules, however, made no provisions to distinguish shop owners from employees. On the frontier, craftsmen needed only a small amount of capital to open their own shops. The value of real and personal property owned by a tradesman does provide a very strong indication to suggest whether he was a shop owner. A more precise determination can be made by using the 1850 federal manuscript census of manufacturers which provides information on firms doing business in excess of $500. It includes a listing of individual firms, number of employees, capital investment, degree of mechanization, and the kinds of quantities of finished goods produced. Contemporary sources, including business records, also provide another source for identifying shop owners, although these sources are not always available.

A case in point is seen for the town of New Philadelphia, where the federal manuscript census shows only one cabinetmaker. By assessing the value of his real and personal property, listed in the census, and considering the relative ease that craft shops were established on the frontier, one can safely presume that the cabinetmaker was a shop owner. A business receipt does indicate the existence of a cabinet-making establishment, but it also shows that the firm was owned by two men, Solomon McWorter and James M. Pottle.[27]

Pottle, who was white, is shown in the manuscript census as the New Philadelphia cabinetmaker. Solomon, who was black, a former slave and a cabinetmaker by trade, has no occupation listed in the manuscript census. Solomon, the town proprietor's son, however, did not live in New Philadelphia. He was a landowner and a farmer in addition to his trade as a cabinetmaker. Solomon's work as a cabinetmaker in New Philadelphia suggests incidences of greater occupational participation in frontier towns than that shown in the census. This particular example is indicative, too, of the failure of census takers to include the occupations of every person who worked. At the same time, it is also indicative of the underenumeration of the occupational listings of blacks, reflecting one of the many criticisms made of the 1850 federal manuscript census and its use as a completely reliable source.

The craft trades are not the only instances in which multiple occupational participation existed in frontier towns. Usually, tavern keepers, mill owners, distillery owners, livery stable keepers, and merchants provided a variety of services and activities which are not indicated by the occupational listings shown in the federal manuscript census. Again, New Philadelphia with the second lowest town population in the county, provides an example seen in the business activities of C. Luce, who is listed in the federal manuscript census as a "Baptist Teacher." Luce was also the town postmaster between 1849

and 1853. In addition, Luce ran a livery stable, and one of his dwellings served as the New Philadelphia stagecoach stop where Luce provided refreshments which would also qualify him as a tavern keeper. In 1850, there is additional information that shows Luce and another New Philadelphia resident involved in construction of the new school building.[29] Participation in this activity would identify the two men as stone masons, an occupation not shown in the 1850 federal manuscript census under the New Philadelphia listings.

The participation rates of elected Pike County officials are not indicated in the 1850 manuscript census, and thus the listings do not provide an indication of their number or their importance. In the Pike County listings only four townspeople show their occupations as government officials. Yet, in 1850, Pike County had one county judge, four associate judges, one office combining the county treasurer and assessor, one county clerk, one surveyor, one coroner, one school commissioner. County government business did not always require full-time occupational participation, except for the County Clerk, Sheriff, and County Treasurer and Assessor. Nor did appointed federal positions always require full-time occupational participation. In Pike County, only two postmasters are listed, but federal postal records show the appointment of others. The names of county officials for 1850, however, are found in the Pike County history, and the census manuscript shows that most lived in Pike towns. Their occupational listings in the 1850 federal manuscript census do not suggest the participation of these men in county government functions.

Specialized Towns in Pike County

Perry, with a population of 402 in 1850, was the third largest town in Pike County, with twenty-four different listed occupational functions, second only to the county seat, which had thirty distinct occupational functions. Perry had the county's only jewelers, suggesting, perhaps, the degree of wealth not only in that town, but also in the county because of the population threshold usually required to support this business. Perry, however, had a distinct locational advantage: its site was located near Perry Springs which, according to the county history, had a national reputation for its medicinal qualities. Besides that, Perry also had the county's only druggist and only daguerreotypists. The town's occupational structure does not suggest its function as a health resort or that this business activity was important to the town's economy. Still, the county history notes that the Springs attracted people from throughout the county who visited Perry to restore their health. A hotel was built in 1856 to accomodate the numerous visitors, who had resided in "little cabins" until that time (see Fig. 1).[30]

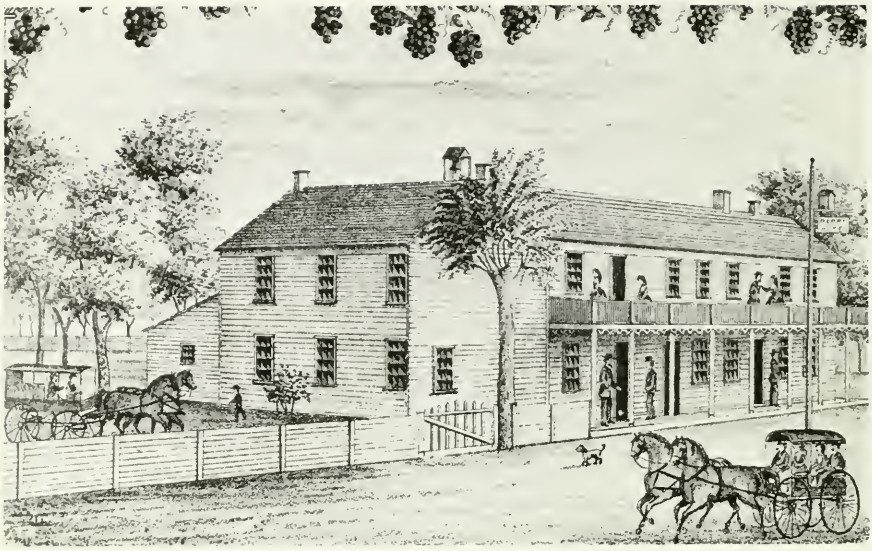


Figure 1. Perry Hotel.

Pittsfield, the county seat, also had a reputation on the western Illinois frontier as being a center of preparatory school instruction. In 1850 John Hay, who was later one of President Lincoln's private secretaries, was sent to study at Pittsfield from his home in Warsaw, "a crude struggling village." According to Jay Stuart, Pike's county seat was thought to afford "more civilized surroundings, for Pittsfield, settled by people from western Massachusetts, was more like a New England town than a raucus frontier town."[31] However, only four years earlier, it seemed Pittsfield's only distinction was its poorhouse, which was visited in 1846 by Dorothea Dix, an early social reformer. At that time, she spoke "approvingly" of its facilities, noting that it was "in advance of most counties in the treatment of paupers."[32] Yet, the occupational listings in the 1850 manuscript census do not indicate the existence of this facility.

Other than its highly recommended "poorhouse," Pittsfield as a frontier town, according to one contemporary, probably differed little in physical appearance from Warsaw. The courthouse, in particular, was singled out for attention by one critic who said, "Now do not let your courthouse square look any longer so barren. Will not the commissioners do, as they have done in Marion county, set out the space in shade trees at public expense. If they will follow so creditable an example, pray don't imitate their manner. Some twenty rows of trees stand up with the most distressing exactness." Then, as the early town planner cautioned, "Avenues may be lined with rows of trees; but squares and open spaces should have then grouped or scattered in small knots and parcels in a more natural manner."[33] As

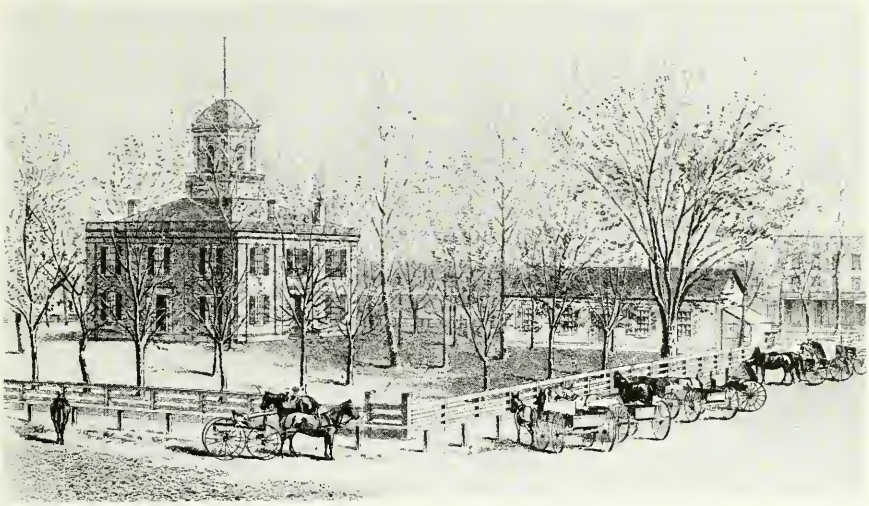


Figure 2. Pike County Courthouse.

Figure 2 shows, the grounds surrounding the Pike County courthouse some twenty years later reflected their commentary.

In 1850, however, whatever deficiencies Pittsfield presented as far as its physical attractiveness as a frontier town, its Thompson Academy provided what was considered a creditable education for a school in a frontier community. And, as Stuart has suggested, at that time, "Pike County had a profound influence on John Hay. Although he met the rough river men who gave rise to his characters in the Pike County Ballads, he also became acquainted with the important lawyers of the day and heard Lincoln, Douglas, Browning, Trumbull, and Yates, argue cases in Court."[34] Hay was Secretary of State at the end of the century. John G. Nicolay, who is listed in the federal manuscript census as a printer in Pittsfield, and whose name is shown at the top of Pike County's officially printed forms, also advanced his career from its inauspicious beginnings in Pittsfield. He, too, became a private secretary to Lincoln. Still, the occupational listing in the 1850 federal manuscript census does not make the distinction between the obviously well-educated teachers at the Thompson Academy and those who taught in one-room schoolhouses, and whose educational training perhaps was little more than the pupils whom they instructed.

The occupations of people who worked in St. Louis, the only town on the Pike County frontier whose economy from its origin was based solely on manufacturing, are not included in Table 1. St. Louis was founded in 1847, but its plat was vacated in 1855, which would account for the town not being included in the state census taken that year.[35] Yet the town's manufacturing activities in 1847 included

flour milling and saw milling operations, and there was a wool manufactory. *The Pike County Free Press* also reported that St. Louis contained "an extensive country store, steam mill, Furniture store, cooper shops, Blacksmith shop, steam saw mill, (nearly completed) Lath Factory going up, and an extensive pork house 120 feet long by 30 feet wide. . . ."[36]

In the newspaper account of St. Louis' rapid development, the press complimented the town founder, Israel Israel, for his promotional activities as a town proprietor: "We doubt not that the business enterprise of Mr. Israel will stir up a competition in this portion of the county which will be of great benefit to the producers and consumers." The federal manuscript listings for 1850, however, do not indicate the wide occupational diversity suggested by the county paper, and quite possibly St. Louis was no longer in existence at that time. The Pike County history reports that the town was on the decline in less than four years after its founding.[37] St. Louis, however, was located only one mile from the town of Barry. By 1850, Barry's business activities had established that town's dominance as a central place. Thus, while St. Louis was phased out as a town, many of its mills were still operating, and the occupations of the workers in those establishments are included only if they lived in one of the 1855 state-classified "villages."

Pike County's flourishing river landings were not included in the 1855 state census "village" listings. The occupations of those who worked in those places, consequently, were not included unless they lived in another Pike town. In one instance, several distinct river occupations are listed (ferryman, rafter, and boatmaker), but those occupational listings are found in towns located several miles from the rivers. In his discussion of the Illinois River Valley, John Conger said that,"Plying regularly and frequently along the channels of both rivers, the steamboats found plenty of business awaiting them at the levees of flourishing Pike communities."[38] The important river landings in Pike County during this period were Douglasville, Cincinnati Landing, Gilgal or Scott's Landing, and Ordionne Landing, all on the Mississippi River.[39] Griggsville Landing, now the site of Valley City, a Pike County town founded in 1877, was the most important river landing on the Illinois side of the county. According to Massie, of all the Pike County towns, Cincinnati Landing "in 1848 was the greatest business town in Pike County." He particularly emphasizes that "The cordwood industry was quite extensive at Cincinnati Landing and there were over 5,000 cords of wood on the banks, as in those days the steamboats used wood exclusively."[40] Only one lumber merchant and one wood chopper, however, are listed in Pike County towns in the 1850 federal manuscript census.

Occupational Classification of Pike County Towns

Table 1 shows that the five largest occupational groups in Pike County were: carpenters, ninety-seven; coopers, sixty-five; blacksmiths, fifty-seven; merchants, fifty-four; and, clerks, forty-one. When those occupations and the forty-eight others are classified under broad occupational categories, it becomes much easier to determine the most important business and service activities in a frontier community.[41] Table 2 classifies the occupations of Pike County townspeople into eight categories. It shows, for example, that "General Business" activities, with 125 participants, accounted for the most important occupational function in Pike County towns. The "Building Trades" employed 117 townspeople, closely followed by "Transportation," which employed 114 townspeople. "Food Processing" activities, in which eighty-five townspeople were employed, ranked fourth. "Professional and Semi-professional Services," with eighty participants, ranked fifth. The "Clothing Manufacturing," activities which employed some thirty-four participants ranked sixth, followed by the "Metal and Wood Trades," in which fourteen people are listed. Twelve occupations are listed in the eighth category, classified as "Miscellaneous," although many occupations in each category could be cross-listed.

The Frontier Merchant

The merchant's importance on Mid-American frontiers has been detailed by Lewis Atherton, who shows the varied nature of his activities, and especially his role as the link to established communities:

> The merchant was not simply a tradesman who bought raw materials or exchanged them for finished goods. He was in some cases a manufacturer (hemp into rope), an exporter of raw and finished goods, and a banker. He served as a correspondent, writing business and personal letters for his customers, and contributed his broad range of experience to other affairs of the community. His place of business — whether store, wagon, or from the saddle — served also as a focal point for transmittal of news ranging from politics to fashion. His knowledge of the various discount rates of state bank notes and his credit lines to the East and South were critical to the developing commerce of the frontier, and materially influenced the westward history of the nation.[42]

While the importance of merchants on the frontier is indicated by their numbers in Table 1, where they rank fourth in the list of occupations, the census manuscript does not provide information that suggests their multifunctional activities. As Atherton shows, merchants sometimes combined production and wholesaling functions along with their retailing activities. The large number of clerks also sug-

Table 2

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS IN PIKE COUNTY, 1850

I. GENERAL BUSINESS	
Merchants	54
Jewelry	2
Tavern Keeper	4
Druggist	1
Grocer	11
Clerk	44
Hotel Keeper	3
Lumber Merchant	1
Printer	3
Daguerreotypist	2
	125
III. TRANSPORTATION	
Saddle/Harness Maker	11
Boatman	1
Ferryman	3
Teamster	14
Stagecoach Driver	1
Rafter	1
Wheelwright	16
Wagon Maker/ Carriage Maker	10
Blacksmith	57
	114
V. PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	
Clergyman	7
Doctor/Dentist	34
Lawyer	12
Govt. Officials	4
City Constable	3
Postmaster	2
Editor/Journalist	2
Teacher	16
	80
VII. METAL AND WOOD TRADES	
Cabinet Maker	9
Tin Smith	3
Chairmaker	2
Gunsmith	1
	15
II. BUILDING TRADES	
Carpenter	97
Brick Maker	4
Stone Mason	2
Plaster	5
Painter	7
Caulker	1
Sash Maker	1
	117
IV. FOOD PROCESSING	
Miller	14
Butcher	3
Drover	1
Baker	1
Cooper	66
	85
VI. CLOTHING MANUFACTURING	
Tailor	10
Weaver	1
Milliner	3
Dressmaker	2
Hatter	2
Wool Carding	1
Boot/Shoemaker	15
	34
VIII. MISCELLANEOUS	
Engineer	6
Mattress Maker	3
Wood Chopper	1
Machinist	1
Miner	1
	12

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Illinois Pike County," Manuscript Microcopy M-432, Reel 124.

gest the extensiveness of mercantile activities. At the same time, their numbers also suggest that mercantile activities on the Pike County frontier provided non-agricultural employment for a substantial number of workers in the labor force in frontier towns. Thus, while clerks have been included in the occupational listings, laborers have not. Unlike in larger towns and cities, one cannot assume that a laborer who lived in a frontier town was employed in a non-agricultural occupation. Even though clerks are included, the census listings fail to distinguish their occupational classification, indicating whether the clerk was employed in an office, in a retail or wholesale establishment, or in a manufacturing establishment.

Building Trades, Transportation and Food Processing Activities

Table 2 shows the importance of the building trades on the Pike County frontier. The high participation rates in the occupations listed in this category underscore the ongoing town development process. In the "Transportation" category, the importance of the blacksmith can be compared to the auto mechanic and tool-making occupations that exist today. Horses provided the only power for land transportation in Pike County before the railroad, which came in 1869. The blacksmith's skills were needed for shoeing horses in addition to sharpening plows, and also for repairing some machine parts and farm tools. Depending on his workload, the blacksmith as an occupational category could be listed under "Transportation," "Food Processing," and in some instances the "Building Trades." However, all eight categories included occupations that can be cross-listed, thus reflecting the importance of their multi-variegated functions in a frontier community.

As an example, wheelwright is listed under "Transportation" rather than the category "Metal and Wood Trades." Usually, too, saddle and harness maker and boot and shoemaker are occupations found in the broader vertical category, "Artisans and Craftsmen," under the subdivision, Leather Trades. In this instance, saddle and harness makers are included under the occupational category "Transportation," and boot and shoemaker under the category "Clothing Manufacturing," thus reflecting the basic purposes of these occupations, respectively, to facilitate transportation and to provide ready made wearing apparel. Then, too, the "Clothing Manufacturing" and "Food Processing" classifications could be subsumed under a "consumer goods manufacturing" category, but in Table 2 are assigned individual categorical listings to underscore the importance of these functions in the economies of frontier communities.

The extensive grain food processing activities in Pike County are not reflected in the numbers of millers, but rather in the number of coopers, the second largest occupational classification in Pike County. The processing of farm produce was essential to reduce bulk and minimize land transportation carrying costs. Edward Hazen's definition of cooper in his 1841 discussion of professions and trades is as follows: "The cooper manufactures cask, tubs, pails and various other articles for domestic use, as well as vessels for containing all kinds of liquids and merchandise of a dry nature. He also applies hoops to boxes which are to be transported . . . . to distant cities."[43] Pike County also had a considerable livestock trade, but this enterprise is not reflected in the number of butchers or the existence of just one drover. Rather, to save costs, most farmers grazed their own animals, and also butchered and processed their livestock for trade. At the same time, cattle were sometimes shipped on flatboats down the Mississippi and Ohio rivers for the New Orleans market. In other instances, drovers from Ohio and other eastern states purchased steers to drive to market.[44]

The Closing of the Frontier

By the 1850s the frontier period was coming to a close in Pike County. As Rubin explains, "The town economy appears when a village develops specialized full-time traders and extends its trading network to a multivillage basis. The town then becomes the trading nucleus where villagers of the region dispose of their surplus products and buy manufactures which the town both produces and imports."[45] Colby's *Handbook of Illinois* provides a listing of sixteen chief towns in 1850. Only five occupy a position of regional or national importance today. While no Pike County towns were included, four of the towns listed were located in the Illinois Military Tract: Quincy, Illinois's second largest town, with a population of 6,902; Peoria, with 5,905, Rushville, with 2,609, and Nauvoo, with 1,130.[46] Pooley, in his analysis of Illinois towns at the close of the frontier period, said, "Peoria and Quincy can be said to have advanced to the dignity of cities by 1850." He indicates that these two towns should be included in the rank of the highest order towns in the Military Tract. Pooley considers Quincy the classic example of a town in that area because its development as of 1850 reflected "the effect of favorable environment and of the interaction of agricultural and manufacturing districts."[47]

Those towns which did not combine these functions, but had populations that ranged from 1,500 to 2,500, were considered by Pooley in the second rank order of towns. Only Pittsfield was included in this category, although its 1850 population was 657. Having a

population that ranged from 500 to 1,000 was Pooley's determinant for the third class order of towns. No Pike County towns were included in this category, although Griggsville's 1850 population was 585. However, as Table 1 suggests, population size was not the factor which determined the importance of a town as a central place in a frontier community. The determining factor was the ability of the towns to provide non-agricultural goods and services for farm people who lived in their hinterlands. Throughout the frontier period towns combined a mixture of commercial, craft, social, and public activity, and represented the basic link between dispersed farm populations and the agglomerated urban populations. Yet, with the end of the frontier period in Illinois, few towns that relied on agricultural processing alone would see any significant growth. Chicago's rapid industrial transformation and superior railroad connections in the 1850s soon contributed to the city's phenomenal growth. In 1850, its population was 29,963; by 1860 its population was 109,260.

Pike County remained an agricultural area. Those towns which very early in their history had concentrated on processing agricultural commodities retained their importance. By the 1870s, Pike County's larger towns were those which developed food processing manufacturing enterprises similar in kind to those found in Quincy and Peoria in the 1850s. Some of the towns with such enterprises, according to a Pike County resident in 1876, were:

> . . . Barry [which] has mills, pork houses of large capacity, blacksmith and other shops, and adjacent a large woolen mill . . . . Griggsville has a . . . flour mill . . . . Pleasant Hill has mills and tobacco factories. New Hartford and Summer Hill . . . [are where] coopers make

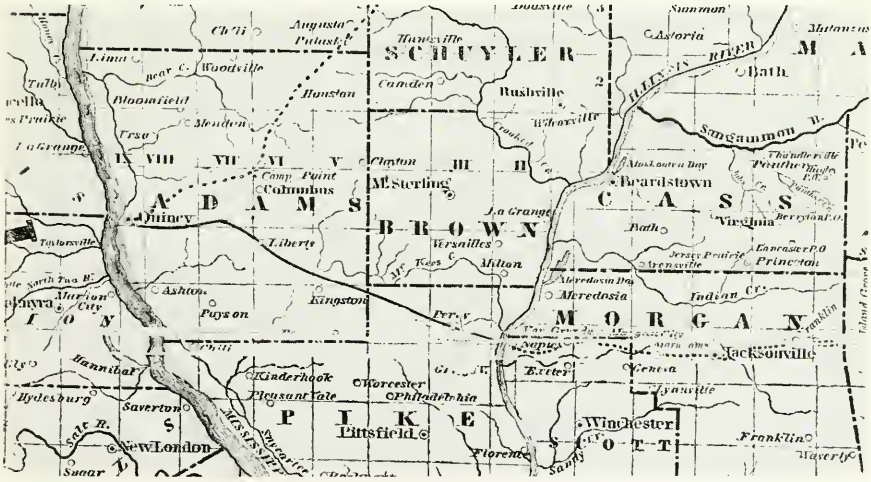


Figure 3. Map of Several Western Illinois Counties, from Colby's *Handbook of Illinois* (1854).

> barrels . . . to a large amount. El Dara has a large flour mill. Perry has a woolen mill, flour mill . . . . Chambersburg has a flour mill. Kinderhook has a flour mill. Rockport, . . . recently a large flour mill was burned. Pittsfield has two large and well-equipped flour mills, a woolen mill, . . . two tobacco factories, a foundry . . . [and] a large factory for fan mills to clean grail and seeds . . . . (See Figure 3)[48]

Of the Pike towns, Barry and Griggsville retained their importance and were listed among "major agricultural towns" in Illinois in the mid-twentieth century.[49]

Thus, this study, which examines the occupational structure of Pike County, Illinois towns in 1850, also demonstrates the diversity of non-agricultural occupations found in towns on the Mid-American frontier. The occupational persistence rates of particular trades and commercial activities that remained constant over time and place in frontier towns reflected the town building process and also contributed to the development of viable town economies. While all but four of the Pike County towns detailed in this study were founded in the mid-1830s, the period of their greatest growth and development as frontier towns came after 1843. The diverse occupational structure of Pike County towns also provides support for Eblen's impressive analysis of nineteenth-century frontier populations. While his study does not include a discussion of frontier occupations, his analysis provides useful insights for a continued reevaluation of the nineteenth century frontier settlement process. Eblen's study emphasizes the rapid transformation of the nineteenth-century frontier, and he shows that, in counties of the ten states studied, "the frontier did not last long — within a decade the population characteristics were moderated rapidly and after two decades census data would hardly bear witness to the frontier experiences."[50] And, as Eblen indicates, demographic factors suggest "there is no evidence that there were distinct waves of settlement during the first years of settlement."

On agricultural frontiers, the existence of towns and their importance cannot be minimized. Population settlement as it occurred in agricultural areas also saw the simultaneous development of towns. The excellent comparative regional study by James Davis provides a detailed demographic analysis of selected counties on both southern and northern frontiers in the period from 1800 to 1840. While it includes perhaps one of the best discussions of frontier non-agricultural occupations, this seminal study fails to emphasize the importance of towns. Rather Davis over-emphasizes the self-subsistence of the nineteenth-century pioneer farmer, although he points to the existence of merchants, craftsmen, millers, and tavern-keepers on those frontiers.[51] N. S. B. Gras, as early as 1922 in his study of America's economic history, indicated the importance of

town on the early frontiers and the relative lack of self-sufficiency of the early pioneer farmer settler: "their independence was in nearly all cases short-lived or really nonexistent, for somewhere near the settler there grew up a town on which his dependence was great and lasting."[52] Thus in the Midwestern frontier areas such as Pike County, what some historians refer to as settlements must be reevaluated in the light of both nineteenth- and twentieth-century definitions of towns. In their early stage of economic growth, towns should be defined in functional and structural terms, and not by arbitrarily imposed demographic limits.

Town development occurred during the early years of settlement on the Pike County frontier because of the commercialized background of nineteenth-century settlers. The changing patterns of land use as the nation moved westward also contributed to the early development of frontier towns. John Reps' study of the making of urban America shows that in the Midwest, the pattern of land settlement marked a "break-down" in the New England system of town settlement and town occupational structure. In the New England town on the seventeenth-century frontier, the agricultural community centered in the village, which included a general land subdivision of town lots and garden/farm lots. In the Midwest, instead, as Reps shows, the pattern of land settlement saw "the development of the isolated farm homestead for agricultural purposes and the nearby village functioning as the home of a new class of merchants, craftsmen, and members of the professions."[53]

There would be little difference in land settlement and occupational structure as new towns developed on the American frontiers in the period after the Civil War. Merle Curti's classic study of Trempeauleau County, Wisconsin, provides occupational listings for the years 1860, 1870, and 1880.[54] The occupations listed and the participation rates show remarkable similarity to those in Pike County. By 1890, demographic determinants pointed to the end of the frontier. Yet, throughout the period of initial settlement on the Pike County frontier, there was a remarkable persistence of similar occupations. That many occupations were related in function, and that townspeople on the Pike County frontier served in double or multiple occupational capacities represented another important force in the transition to settled communities. Thus, while Table 1 does not reflect the wide occupational distribution found in Pike County frontier towns in 1850, still the occupational structure reflected in microcosm the basic occupations peculiar to the large towns or cities in America in the mid-nineteenth century. Simply put, as Sam Bass Warner explains, the American City from 1774 to 1930 "fulfilled a basic set of functions: it provided clothing, food, and housing for its

residents, and professional services, markets, and manufactures for its residents and its trading region."[55] The occupations of Pike County townspeople in 1850 conformed to those functions. Those occupations can also be viewed as representative of those elsewhere on the 1830-1850 midwestern frontier.

NOTES

[1]Lewis Atherton, *The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1971), p. 9. For a discussion of occupations as determinants in the development of a town economy see, Juluis Rubin, "Growth and Expansion of Urban Centers," in *The Urbanization of America: An Historical Anthology,* Allen M. Wakestein, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp. 86-98. Also see Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959), for a discussion of town development in an earlier period in a different region. Wade, who said, "Cities were the spearheads of the frontier," establishes a conceptual framework for study of town development in frontier communities. For Illinois during this early period, see Keith Linus Miller, "Building Towns on the Southeastern Illinois Frontier, 1810-1830," Ph.D. Diss. Miami Univ., 1976.

[2]For Illinois town population in 1850 see, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1853). Chicago, with a population of 29,963, was the state's largest town. For information on Chicago's occupational structure in 1850, see Carl Abbott, "Popular Economic Thought and Occupational Structure: Three Middle Western Cities in the Antebellum Decades," *Journal of Urban American History,* 1 (1975), 175-87. Also, see Bessie L. Pierce, "Changing Urban Patterns in the Mississippi Valley," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society,* 43 (1950), 46-57. Herman R. Lanz, *A Community in Search of Itself: A Case History of Cairo, Illinois* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1977), p. 17, for information on Cairo, in 1850. Herman R. Lantz and Ernest K. Alix, "Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth Century Mississippi Valley River Community," *Social Science Quarterly* 51 (1970), 404-08, provides a demographic analysis of male heads of household in Cairo, Ill. for 1850 to 1880. Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois 1825-70* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1978), p. 261, provides 1850 figures for occupations in four categorical classifications. See John W. D. Wright, *A History of Early Carbondale, Illinois 1852-1905* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1977) p. 20, for a discussion of that town's occupational distribution in 1857.

[3]Illinois History during the frontier period is discussed in Arthur Clinton Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1718-1830* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1908); Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1922), and William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830-1850,* Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, History Series, No. 1 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1908). Also see, Ray A. Billington, "The Frontier in Illinois History,"*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 43 (1950), 28-45, and Richard Bardolph, "Illinois Agriculture in Transition 1820-1870," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 41 (1948), 244-64, 415-37.

[4]Morris Birkbeck, *Letters From Illinois* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), p. 14.

[5]Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America From the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois* (London: Severn, 1818), p. 104. Also see, Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer* (Auburn, N.Y.: H. C. Southwiek, 1817). For additional information on town occupations during the early frontier period, see John Mason Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois: In Three Parts* (Jacksonville, Ill.: R. Goudy, 1834).

[6]Benjamin P. Thomas, "Lincoln and New Salem," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 41 (1934), 62.

[7]See *Illinois Advocate and State Register,* 19 July 1834, for information on Vandalia. For Jacksonville see Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois,* p. 264.

[8]Hugh G. Dugan, *Village of the County Line: A History of Hinsdale, Illinois* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1949), pp. 45, 54, and 85.

[9]For information on Pike County, see Charles C. Chapman, *History of Pike County, Illinois* (Chicago: C. C. Chapman, 1880); Captain Melville D. Massie, *Past and Present of Pike County, Illinois* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1906); and Jess M. Thompson, *Pike County History: As Printed in Installments in the Pike County Republican, Pittsfield, Illinois, 1935-1939* (Racine, Wis: Preston Miller, 1967). This newspaper series provides an early example of the publication of oral history records. Most interviewees were in their senior years and only a generation removed from the frontier period. A few were born in the late 1840s and early 1850s and, in their early years, witnessed the closing of the Pike County frontier. Also, see *Atlas Map of Pike County* (Davenport, Iowa: Andreas Lyter, 1872), for Pike County townplats and brief biographical sketches which discusses the frontier period in the lives of the early settlers.

[10]Juliet E. K. Walker, "The Origin of Agricultural Towns in Nineteenth-Century Western Illinois: Pike County, 1823-1877," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* forthcoming.

[11]U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: 1853); and Illinois State Census, 1845, Illinois State Archives, Springfield. The population figure for 1834 is an estimate in Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois,* pp. 23-24; and the population for 1835 is estimated in Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837: A Sketch . . . of the State of Illinois* (Philadelphia: S. A. Mitchell, 1837), p. 49. Jack E. Eblen, "An Analysis of Nineteenth Century Frontier Populations," *Demography* 2 (1965), 400. A demographic analysis of frontier populations in eighty selected counties located in ten states from Lake Michigan to the Pacific for the period 1840-1860, by Eblen, provides the following population figures for establishing three phases of frontier settlement: "To qualify as a frontier settlement, the population density of a county had to be between two and five people to a square mile (under two being considered trans-frontier and six or more post-frontier)." In Illinois, fourteen counties centered around the Galena lead mines were examined.

[12]Theodore L. Carlson, *The Illinois Military Tract: A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1951), p. 95.

[13]John M. Peck, *The Traveller's Directory for Illinois* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1839), p. 9.

[14]Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837,* p. 98.

[15]Thompson, *Pike County History,* pp. 151-152.

[16]Juliet E. K. Walker, *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier* (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, forthcoming in 1983).

[17]See Pike County Deed Record Book Town Lot Index, "Philadelphia," pp. 46-61 and 269-71, at the Pike County Courthouse, Pittsfield, Illinois, for information on town lots sold by Free Frank. For information on the merchant's permit to sell goods in New Philadelphia see, Pike County commissioners Records 3 (1838-44), p. 879, Pike County Courthouse, Pittsfield, Ill.

[18]Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois, p. 455.*

[19]*Pike County Free Press,* 23 April 1848.

[20]U.S., Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Illinois, Pike County," Manuscript Microcopy M-432, Reel 124.

[21]U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Illinois, Pike County" Manuscript Microcopy M-704, Reel 67.

[22]Illinois State Census, 1855, "Pike, Pulaski, Pope and Putnam Counties," Illinois State Archives, Springfield.

[23]See Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: One Element of the American Settlement Fabric," *Annuals of the Association of American Geographers* 33 (1943), 35-38, where he makes the distinction between hamlet, village, town, and city. Trewartha sets a population figure of 16 to 150 to distinguish a hamlet from a village or town. His definition of a hamlet requires a minimum of four active residences, at least two of which are non farm houses, having at least six active functional units-residence, business, or social.

[24]See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850,* p. iv, which points out: "the present census of the United States is, in many respects defective." Another comment relevant to this table is "The occupations are not distinguished in a manner calculated to result in any correct conclusions." The following studies discuss various problems encountered when using federal manuscript censuses as sources; Carroll D. Wright, *The History and Growth of the United States Census 1790-1890,* Prepared for the Senate Committee on the Census (Washington, D.C., 1900); Hyman Alterman, *Counting People: The Census in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1969); Peter R. Knights, "A Method for Estimating Census Under enumeration," *Historical Methods Newsletters* 3 (December, 1969), 5-8; and John B. Sharpless and Ray M. Shortridge, "Biased Under-enumeration in Census Manuscripts: Methodological Implications," *Journal of Urban History* 1 (1975), 409-39. Advantages of using federal manuscript censuses as sources for study of frontier populations are discussed in Peter R. Knights, "A Method for Estimating Census Under-Enumeration," *Historical Methods Newsletter* 3 (December, 1969), 5-8; Edward K. Muller, "Town Populations in the Early United States Censuses: An Aid to Research," *Historical Methods Newsletter* 3 (March, 1970), 2-8; and, Robert G. Barrows, "The Federal Census: Source for a 'New' Local History," *Indiana Magazine of History,* 69 (1973), 189-90.

[25]See William L. Bowers, "Crawford Township, 1850-1870: A Population Study of a Pioneer Community," *Iowa Journal of History* 58 (1960), 1-3; and Mildred Thorne, "A Population Study of an Iowa County in 1850," *Iowa Journal of History* 57 (1959), 309. Both studies provide listings of non-agricultural occupations, but do not group them in towns.

[26]Edward Hazen, *Popular Technology; or, Professions and Trades,* 2 Vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841).

[27]Receipt for Payment of Services Rendered: D. A. Kittle to Solomon McWorter, 13 August 1850, Free Frank Papers, Thelma McWorter Kirkpatrick Wheaton, Chicago, Il.

[28]"Register of Appointments of Postmasters," U.S. Post Office Department Records, Record Group 27, vol. 18, 156, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[29]See Pike County Circuit Court Records, Frank McWorter v C. S. Luce and D. C. Topping (1851), case No. 3787, Pike County Courthouse, Pittsfield, Ill.

[30]*Atlas Map of Pike County,* p. 7; and Chapman, *History of Pike County,* p. 474.

[31]Jay Stuart, "Father of Modern Diplomacy," *Illinois Guest* 1 (December 1937), 17.

[32]*Pike County Free Press,* 23 July 1846.

[33]Ibid., 5 August 1847.

[34]Stuart, "Modern Diplomacy," p. 17.

[35]For a copy of the St. Louis town plat see, Pike County Deed Record Book, 27, p. 269. Also, see W. D. Barge, "The Old Towns of Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* no. 17 (1912), 193-97.

[36]*Pike County Free Press,* 18 March 1847; 10 June 1847; and, 21 October 1847.

[37]Chapman, *History of Pike County,* p. 799.

[38]John Leonard Conger, *History of the Illinois River Valley,* 3 Vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1932), I, 438.

[39]Tom Haines, *A History of Gilgal Landing and Rockport, Illinois* (Missoula, Mont.: Gateway Printing and Lith., 1971), p. 1.

[40]Massie, *Past and Present of Pike County,* pp. 89, 145.

[41]Even the construction of occupational classification listings does not always provide an accurate representation of the occupational structure of towns before 1890. See, Abbott, "Popular Economic Thought," p. 186. While the following study focuses on the occupational structure of a Canadian town, Hamilton Ontario, in 1851, it is useful for the insights provided on determining "occupational equivalency," and at the same time it is important for a cross-cultural comparative study of occupations in North America in the mid-nineteenth century: Michael B. Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 3 (1972), 63-88. A monumental attempt to resolve the problem of occupational classification and occupational equivalency was undertaken by the Philadelphia Social History Project in the 1970s, which developed an "Occupational Dictionary." It includes a compilation of all occupational titles listed in the federal manuscript censuses for 2.5 million people who worked in Philadelphia in 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880. Each occupation was given a numerical code which provides a precise and distinct definition. The "Occupational Dictionary" does not the include some 11,000 "unique" occupations that appeared only once. For a discussion and listing of occupations, see Theodore Hershberg and Robert Dockhorn, "Occupational Classification," *Historical Methods Newsletter,* Nos. 2, 3, 9 (Mar-June 1976), 59-98.

[42]Atherton, *Frontier Merchant,* book jacket.

[43]Hazen, *Popular Technology,* II, 157.

[44]Carlson, *Illinois Military Tract,* p. 129. On the early cattle ranches in Illinois, see Margaret B. Bogue, "The Cattlemen's Domain," *Patterns From the Sod,* Collections of the Illinois State Historical Society, vol. 24 — Land Series, vol. 1 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1959), pp. 48-84.

[45]Rubin, "Growth and Expansion," p. 96.

[46]From a list of chief towns in Charles G. Colby, *Handbook of Illinois, Accompanying Morse's New Map of the State* (New York: R. Blanchard, 1854), pp. 25-37.

[47]Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois,* pp. 418-419.

[48]Hon William A. Grimshaw, "A History of Pike County," Centennial Address delivered at Pittsfield, Il., 4 July 1876.

[49]Karl Lohmann, *Cities and Towns of Illinois — Handbook of Community Facts* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1951), p. 56.

[50]Eblen, "An Analysis of Nineteenth Frontier Populations," p. 412.

[51]James E. Davis, *Frontier America, 1800-1840: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Frontier Process* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), pp. 135-64.

[52]N. S. B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History* (New York: 1922), p. 155.

[53]John R. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press), pp. 120 and 350.

[54]Merle Curti, *The Making of An American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959), pp. 459-61.

[55]Sam B. Warner, Jr., "If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930," *American Historical Review,* 74 (1968), 26-43.

FORGOTTEN IMAGES: NINETEENTH-CENTURY GRAVESTONE MOTIFS IN PEORIA COUNTY

Joan I. Unsicker

The old cemetery seems a place of perpetuity. The fragrant evergreens and lilies and the towering oaks give a sense of ambient permanence, as do the silent stones, some still surrounded by fences or accompanied by benches of wrought iron or stone. Epitaphs issue warnings to the living or tell of long forgotten sorrows. The seemingly timeless quality of the nineteenth-century cemetery belies the changes which occurred through time in the kinds and sizes of the stones, and particularly in the motifs which decorated them. It is these visual images of commemoration which are the subjects of this paper.

While wandering through the older portions of the cemeteries, one quickly recognizes that many motifs are recurring. The lambs, doves, heavenly gates, roses, angels, and praying hands appear in row after row. What meaning did these images hold for bereaved friends and relatives who chose them as a final tribute for loved ones? Why were particular images common during certain times but not others? How were these motifs related to or reflective of larger cultural themes?

In an attempt to answer some of these questions, information contained on over 1,400 nineteenth-century gravestones in Peoria County was recorded. Using a systematic sampling procedure, stones in forty two of the ninety five known, extant nineteenth-century cemeteries in the county were selected for study. These forty-two cemeteries, scattered throughout the urban and rural portions of the county, comprised community graveyards as well as those set aside for individual family burial and specific religious affiliations. Not only the motifs, but characteristics of the stones themselves — size, shape, and mineral composition — were noted. Historical data concerning the cemeteries' locations and origins were obtained from lists

compiled by the local genealogical society[1] and from nineteenth-century accounts and atlases.[2]

The earliest recorded stones in the sample were erected in the 1830s. The absence of gravestones prior to this time is mute and enduring testimony to the virtual emptiness of west central Illinois during the first three decades of the century. The county was not established until 1825. In that year, Peoria County, along with nine other counties, was divided out of a portion of the Military Tract, a section of Illinois set aside in May of 1812 as bounty lands for veterans of the War of 1812.[3] Even though the bounty lands provided an incentive for settlement, inadequate transportation and the continuing presence of Indians discouraged people from coming during the very early years of the century. Prior to the mid 1820s, settlers came predominantly from the Carolinas, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky and settled primarily in southern Illinois near towns such as Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Alton. Settlement north of Alton was sparse; central and northern Illinois was a wilderness occupied mainly by Indians and fur traders.

Beginning about 1825, however, migration to Illinois increased for a number of reasons: improved means of transportation, the final removal of the Indians at the conclusion of the Black Hawk War, inexpensive land prices, and economic problems, both in the eastern United States and in Europe.[4] In spite of the lure of land selling for $1.25 per acre, the awesome, empty prairies of central Illinois initially deterred many would-be settlers. Early immigrants clung to the forested areas, which were concentrated on the crests of moraines and along the slopes of river valleys. Although the area in the vicinity of the present city of Peoria had been settled since the late seventeenth century,[5] the prairie west of the city was avoided by early settlers whose frontier lifestyle was adjusted to a wooded environment. Increasing population pressure, however, eventually forced settlers to adapt to prairie life, and as in other areas of the Midwest, the population increased rapidly after 1830.[6] As a result, the number of gravestones increased also.

In order to efficiently manage the large amount of data collected for the seven decades covered by this study, the Statistical Analysis System at the Illinois State University Computer Center was used to determine frequency tabulations for the various motifs recorded and to place them in chronological order for study. Sixty motifs were recorded, and a general frequency tabulation, based on the sample of 1,783 burials showed that 62.2 percent of the sample population interred between 1830 and 1900 was commemorated with a stone bearing a motif, and 37.8 percent was not. This same tabulation showed that eleven of the motifs were used much more frequently overall than any of the others, accounting for 47.9 percent of the sample

population. Twelve others represent 9.1 percent of the population, and 32 others occurred very infrequently (together representing only 5.2 percent). The remaining five always were used as secondary or incidental parts of other motifs.

The twenty-three most frequently used motifs in the sample are listed in descending order of popularity in Table 1 along with their frequency percentages (based on 100 percent of the sample population, not the 62.2 percent with motifs). Each is accompanied by a brief explanation of its meaning. Many of the sixty motifs had religious connotations, and the traditional meanings for these were derived from the works of a number of scholars concerned with religious symbolism.[8] Several others symbolized fraternal organizations, and the meanings of a few could be inferred only from the accompanying inscriptions.

TABLE 1.
FREQUENTLY USED SAMPLE MOTIFS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

Motif	Percent Frequency	Meaning
Hands	7.0	Several motifs depicting hands engaged in various activities occurred, e.g. praying, pointing to heaven, holding a bible, and shaking another hand. The shaking hands motif may have meant goodbye when the word "Farewell" was carved above it, or it may have represented greeting God upon entering the hereafter.
Lamb	5.8	Primarily a symbol of Christ and representative of Christ's purity, innocence, meekness, and unwarranted sacrifice.
Rose	5.6	Emblem of love and beauty, especially dedicated to Mary.
Dove	5.5	Peace, gentleness, innocence.
Geometric Designs	4.4	Used as decorative designs on the borders of stones and basal tiers.
Leaves	4.3	Various leaves were recorded including: palm (spiritual victory or eternal peace), ivy (conviviality or living with Christ), and oak (eternity or strength).
Military Design	3.8	Found on stones of veterans; provided by the Veterans' Administration.
Willow Tree	3.1	Sorrow or weeping.
Bible	3.0	
Flowers	2.9	Flowers in general symbolize life. Each has a specific meaning: lotus (regeneration, immortality), lily (purity), morning glory (resurrection), hawthorne (hope). Roses were not included here because they occurred with such frequency they warranted a separate category.

TABLE 1. (continued)

Motif	Percent Frequency	Meaning
Cross	2.5	Suffering of Christ.
Drapes	1.3	Representative of Victorian style of interior decoration. Often drapes were tied back with large tassled cords.
Crown	1.1	Power of Christ.
Scroll	1.0	The Apostles.
Willow and Lamb	0.9	Usually found on children's stones, the willow represents sorrow and the lamb, the deceased child.
Heavenly Gates	0.8	Open gates with steps between them; interpreted as the entrance to heaven.
Angel	0.7	Messenger of God.
Children	0.7	Various motifs on children's stones depict children doing such things as kneeling, holding hands, sitting with a lamb in their laps, praying, or sleeping.
Wheat	0.6	Life. Often depicted in association with a sickle, thus representing the end of life or harvesting the faithful.
Garland	0.5	Flower and fruit garland symbolizes the richness of life.
Masonic Symbol	0.5	Engineer's square and compass, Symbol of the Freemasons.
Pillar	0.5	Life; broken pillars represent the end of life.
Urn	0.5	Death.

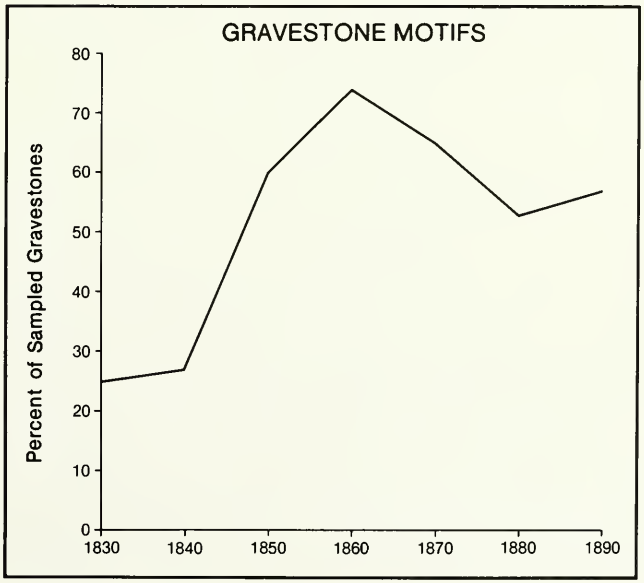


Figure 1.

Figure 2. Willow Motif, 1856. Chillicothe Community Cemetery.

The frequency tabulations revealed changes in the occurrence and types of motifs through time. The relative paucity of motifs present on stones erected in the 1830s and early 1840s (Fig. 1) may be the result of economic conditions characteristic of frontier existence. Priorities of food and shelter were a drain on the early pioneer's energy and financial supplies; there were houses to build, fields to clear and drain, and crops to plant. Only after these necessities were satisfied were resources available for less critical items.[9] Elaborately made and decorated gravestones may have been considered a luxury item to the early settler. A wooden marker or a plain stone tablet, engraved only with essential biographical information, would do at a time when existence was so tenuous, and other, more important matters needed tending.

Then too, the availability of stone grave markers probably was limited in the early frontier communities. Only after communities became more established did they attract merchants and craftsmen from the East who brought with them or made available skills and merchandise hitherto unobtainable.[10] There was, among the pioneers, a firm desire to transfer to the West the cultural and economic institutions of the East Coast.[11] After the initial settlement period, many

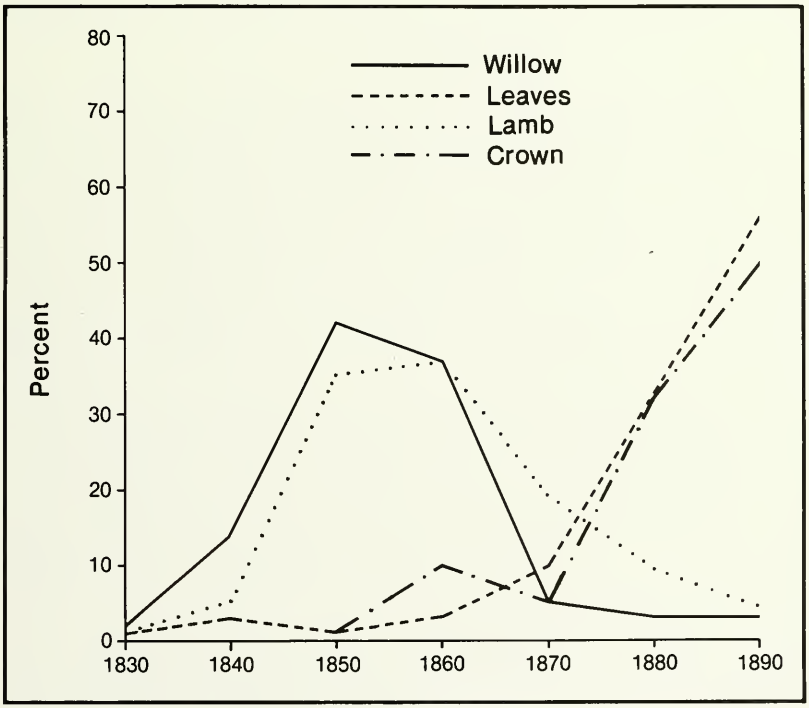


Figure 3.

people were in a financial position to take advantage of the growing list of goods and services now available for them.

Beginning in the 1840s, motifs became more and more common, and the frequency tabulations (Fig. 1) showed that a number of them reached a peak of popularity during certain decades and then tapered off. As these earlier motifs were declining, others which previously had been used infrequently or not at all were gaining in popularity. Motifs such as hands, doves, lambs, roses, willows (Fig. 2), bibles, and angels were used with increasing frequency beginning in the 1840s, reached their peaks of popularity in the 1850s and 1860s, and declined rapidly in the 1870s. By 1860, other motifs which previously had been used rather infrequently began to appear more often. Some of these — crowns, heavenly gates, wheat, leaves, and flowers — were most popularly used during the 1880s and 1890s. Figure 3 illustrates the popularity peaks for four of the more commonly used motifs in the sample.

The results of the analysis indicate that the middle years of the century were a time when gravestone art reached its peak in terms of numbers and varieties of motifs, whereas the latter decades saw a trend towards more simplicity. This trend has been noted by Edwin Dethlefen and Kenneth Jensen[12] in the eastern United States and by Margaret Coffin[13] in the southern states. So it seems that gravestone art in central Illinois is consistent with events in other parts of the country.

An explanation for this temporal transition must take into account contemporary attitudes concerning death and the proper disposal of the dead, as well as styles of architecture and decorative art. The middle years of the century were a time of romanticism and sentimentality. The romantic movement gave great importance to human emotion, and it became fashionable to express one's feelings.[14] In an attempt to understand the attitudes concerning death which were prevalent in the popular mind, Lewis Saum examined a number of nineteenth-century letters and diaries. Saum found that people in ante-bellum America were very much obsessed with death. Many musings about death were found in his sources, and it appears that dying was a reality firmly entrenched in everyone's mind. Saum feels that the emphasis placed on death may be related to the fact that there was a lack of professional services available to handle the dying and the dead. Death was a much more intimate event at a time when people died in their homes and the duty of preparing the dead for burial fell to family and friends.[15]

This intimate relationship with death, coupled with an emphasis on sentiment, may explain the entravagant mourning and funeral customs which flourished during the mid-nineteenth-century. There seemed to be no better way to express the emotion of grief than to

display it to the community by means of an elaborate funeral complete with all the trappings. Enormous sums of money were spent on funerals during the middle years. Formal invitations were sent, feasts were given, and hearses, as well as the horses which pulled them, were decorated with elaborate drapes and feathers. An intricate wardrobe of mourning attire was prescribed for those attending the funeral, especially for members of the grieving family. Mourning attire was particularly critical for a widow, because the loss of a husband was considered the greatest grief that a woman could suffer.[16] The elaborate death rituals did not stop with the conclusion of the funeral, but were carried over into the graveyard. Unlike today, nineteenth-century graveyards were visited regularly by friends and family members. Plots often were fenced with decorative iron railings, and chairs and benches were placed there for the comfort of those who came to mourn or to tend the graves.[17]

In view of the emphasis placed on death, as well as the complexity of the funeral-mourning customs, it seems reasonable that gravestones and motifs should have reflected the mood of the times. If one then examines the architecture and decorative art during this middle period, it is clear that gravestones and motifs also were consistent with current trends in this aspect of culture. Alan Gowans refers to this architectural period as High Victorian and characterizes it as a time of the "picturesque" style. Regarding this, he explains: "High Victorian designers assembled mighty heaps of niches, pinnacles, railings, staircases . . . oriels in stained glass and finials in cast iron, balconies, brackets, that in the end buried structure, plan, and proportion alike beneath one great, incoherent, 'massy pile.'"[18] Gowans describes High Victorian furniture and interior decoration as "an array of little knobs, tassels, antimacassars in lace, and fringed upholstery."[19] Both the Gothic and Classical styles of architecture were being revived during this period, and the result was a style of architecture and decorative art which can best be described as cluttered.

Thus, it is not surprising that during the mid-nineteenth-century the most popular gravestone motifs were those depicting such scenes as little children, lambs, angels, roses, women mourning for their husbands, and willow trees. Predictably, many of these sentimental images were embellished with drapes, scrolls, tassels, and border designs mirroring the elaborate decorative art of the times (Fig. 4).

The trend towards more simplicity in gravestone art during the last two decades of the century is probably related to changing preferences in architectural styles, as well as a less emotional approach to death. During the 1880s and 1890s, architectural and decorative art styles became more conservative, and the flowery, clut-

Figure 4. Table Stone with Garland, Anchor, and Draped Top, 1864. Trivoli Community Cemetery.

tered look was often considered vulgar. Times and attitudes were changing, and the industrial age was increasing the mechanical quality of life and dehumanizing the relationship between the craftsman and his work. Gowans points out that one of the architectural characteristics of these years was the tendency toward "bigness": "Everything about it is big. The country is big now: that earlier America of small towns and tidy courthouses and simple citizen-farmers seems very, very far away, and architecture shows it. Individually, buildings of every kind are bigger than comparable types fifty years before."[20] This tendency toward larger buildings was, in part, a reaction to the cramped, cluttered buildings of the past, but it also reflected the influence of the new large factory buildings constructed to house the industry of the late nineteenth-century.

The trend toward bigness seems to have carried over into the cemeteries as gravestones, too, became increasingly larger. The thin tablet stones and tapered obelisks of white marble characteristic of the middle years now were overshadowed by larger stones cut from huge blocks of granite. Granite was not successfully mined until the 1870s, and this new source of gravestone material undoubtedly contributed to the prevalence of the large, block-looking stones of the 1880s and 1890s. It is interesting to note that as the size of the stones became larger, the motifs on them became fewer in number. The visual focus became the stone itself, and the diminishing motif was dwarfed by the gravestone's formidable size.

It could be argued that the difficulty of carving motifs into a much harder stone such as granite was responsible for the decreased use of motifs. However, by the end of the century, gravestone manufacturing had become increasingly commercialized, and the technology for performing this task certainly was available. Evidence for this is revealed in a number of large, intricately carved granite stones, some of which were shaped to form elaborate statues. An alternate explanation for the decreasing use of motifs, and the one proposed here, is that the size of the stone became a more important consideration than the message conveyed by the motif.

By the late nineteenth-century, the elaborate funeral customs characteristic of the middle years began to subside. The immediate family was no longer responsible for making the funeral and burial arrangements, as these responsibilities were being managed more and more by professionals. Thus, as the need for intimate involvement with the dead diminished, the intense emotions associated with these activities seem also to have abated.

Turning once more to the kinds of motifs used toward the end of the century, they clearly were of a different variety than those used during the middle years. In addition to being fewer in number, the later motifs, not surprisingly, were less emotional in nature. Gone

Figure 5. Wheat and Sickle Motif, 1880's. Springdale Cemetery, Peoria.

were the sentimental lambs, doves, roses and willows of the earlier days. In their place appeared such motifs as the crown and oak leaves which symbolize strength in Christ, and the shock of wheat and sickle (Fig. 5), which can be interpreted either as the end of life or the harvesting of the faithful. Also found on later stones were ivy and palm leaves, symbolizing Christian living and victory. The heavenly gates motif, representing the entrance to eternity, first appeared during that time. Taken together, these motifs seem to reflect a belief in the strength of Christian life and the hope for eternal existence rather than sentimental grief for the deceased.

The results of this study suggest that, far from being haphazard arrangements of designs, nineteenth-century gravestone motifs were in tune with national perceptions of appropriate funerary practice. The diachronic design variations noted on stones in Peoria County were a response to changes in American attitudes toward death as well as developing styles of architecture and decorative art. These motifs are an interesting measure of cultural change as they provide a unique glimpse into the minds of those who laid their loved ones to rest before the turn of the century.

NOTES

This article was adapted from an unpublished Master's thesis submitted to the Department of History, Illinois State University, Normal, IL.

[1]Margaret Herberger and Virginia Schultz, "Peoria County, Illinois Cemeteries" (1972). On file at the Peoria County Genealogical Society.

[2]Alfred T. Andreas, *Atlas Map of Peoria County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1873). *History of Peoria County, Illinois* (Chicago: Johnson and Company, 1880).

[3]Alan J. Dixon, *Counties of Illinois* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1976), p. 8. John P. Hand, *Military Tract Papers.* Address presented before the trustees, faculty, and students of the Western Illinois State Normal School (Normal: Illinois State Reformatory Print, 1906), p. 22. Theodore L. Carlson, *The Illinois Military Tract* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 37-39.

[4]Ray A. Billington, "The Frontier in Illinois History," in *An Illinois Reader,* ed. Clyde C. Walton (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 91-93. William Lewis Nida, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago: O.P. Barnes, 1910), pp. 137-52. Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illnois* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 187.

[5]Gilbert Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1969), p. 509. Reprint of original 1797 edition (London: DeBrett). Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrow Brother, 1900), LXIV, 159-61; LXVI, 53, 277, 287.

[6]Ray A. Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York: MacMillan, 1974), pp. 282-94. John H. House, "Survey Data and Regional Models in Historical Archeology," *Research Strategies in Historical Archeology,* ed. Stanley South (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 249-50. William D. Walters, Jr., "The Making of the Urban Pattern in Central Illinois," *Bulletin of the Illinois Geographical Society,* 19 (1977), 3-15.

[7]The information on 1,456 stones was recorded; however, many stones marked multiple graves. For statistical purposes the total number of people commemorated (1,783), not the number of stones, was used in the frequency tabulations.

[8]Daniel Alan Benuska, "Religious Symbolism: A Study of the Contemporary Significance of Ten Christian Symbols." Unpublished Master's Thesis (University of Iowa, 1969). Clara Erskine Clement, *A Handbook of Christian Symbols* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1971). Edward F. Hulme, *Sumbolism in Christian Art* (New York: MacMillan, 1892).

[9]Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 172-75.

[10]Lewis E. Atherton, "The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America," *The University of Missouri Studies,"* 14 (1939), p. 10.

[11]Billington, pp. 73-74.

[12]Edwin S. Dethlefsen and Kenneth Jensen, "Social Commentary from the Cemetery," *Natural History,* 86:6 (1969), pp. 32-39.

[13]Margaret M. Coffin, *Death in Early America* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1976).

[14]John Morley, *Death, Heaven, and the Victorians* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), pp. 13-18.

[15]Lewis O. Saum, "Death in the Popular Mind of Pre-Civil War America," *American Quarterly,* 26 (1974), 79-80.

[16]Margaret M. Coffin, *Death in Early America* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1976), pp. 69-122, 195-202.

[17]Frances Lichten, *Decorative Art of Victoria's Era* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. 219.

[18]Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1964), p. 329.

[19]Ibid. p. 331.

[20]Ibid. p. 378.

SLATER BURGESSER AND HIS FAMOUS SPRING

James W. Vining

A bottle of Ripley Mineral Water was taken from the pantry, much cooler than the dining room, and served to Slater Burgesser's dinner guest. The visitor to the Burgesser Mineral Springs Farm was astonished and baffled when, before his glass was half filled, ice formed in the neck of the bottle. The story found its way into Schuyler County's *Rushville Times,* which, in its issue of January 10, 1910, asked this question: "Will some scientific reader explain the phenomenon and tell us why water should suddenly freeze when brought into contact with an atmosphere 40 degrees warmer?"[1]

William Slater Burgesser was one of the most colorful characters in the history of western Illinois. He was born near the Brown County village of Versailles on January 3, 1853. As a young man he married a local girl and became a farmer. His wife, Cynthia, bore him a son, whom they named William. Cynthia Burgesser died before the turn of the century, and for nearly thirty years thereafter Slater and William "batched it" together. Slater never remarried, and Willie, as everyone called him, remained a bachelor all his life.

Slater Burgesser bought the property he was to call "Burgesser Mineral Springs Farm" in 1890. This land is nine miles north of where he was born and a mile-and-a-half southwest of the Brown County community of Ripley. Whether or not he knew about the existence of the mineral spring when he bought this property cannot now be ascertained. If he did not, no doubt he soon discovered it in the valley of a small creek which traverses the farm.

The earliest mention of the spring in a local newspaper, Mt. Sterling's *Democrat-Message,* was an article titled "A Midnight Supper at Burgesser's Mineral Springs," published in 1903. The article tells about an annual men's club hunting party called "the Knights Pythias' Hunt for the Gay and Festive Coon," an event which may have been held on Burgesser's land for the first time in 1903. The hunters ap-

parently set out from the mineral spring, returning there after the hunt for a feast. While they were gathered around the campfire, Slater Burgesser, "at especial request . . . told of the excellent qualities of his famous mineral springs, and all took copious quantities of the water in proof thereof."[2] The article concluded with this peom, probably the only one ever written about Burgesser Mineral Springs:

> You can boast about the excellence
> Of unadulterated rye,
> And the choice selected cheer found
> In Herr Munn's extra extra dry,
> Or the joy that is gathered
> In a mug of wholesome beer,
> But from Clarke's and Munn's
> And Schlitz take all the cheer
> And wholesomeness — For me
> You haven't got a thing
> That'll for one moment stand in line
> With Slater's mineral spring.[3]

A newspaper article titled "The Festive Coon" in a 1906 Brown County newspaper indicates that the Knights of Pythias hunt was again held on Burgesser's land, and possibly in other years it was held there, but not reported by the press.

Burgesser was convinced of the healing qualities of his spring water, and already, by 1903, he seems to have convinced many others of the desirability of that water. A businessman at heart, he realized the money-making potential of his mineral spring. Perhaps even before 1903 he had improved the spring, utilizing three ceramic barrels which he had specially made at one of the potteries for which the nearby town of Ripley had become famous. Those barrels, each of which had holes in the bottom, were buried at the spring site. Water could be dipped from them for filling containers.

Probably in preparation for advertising his mineral water, Burgesser had a sample analyzed by Arthur W. Palmer, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Illinois. The analysis revealed the following mineral constituents: potassium nitrate (.13 grain), potassium chloride (.33 grain), sodium chloride (.12 grain), sodium sulphate (2.47 grains), magnesium sulphate (6.31 grains), magnesium carbonate (7.22 grains), calcium carbonate (21.19 grains), iron carbonate (.25 grain), alumina (.25 grain), silica (1.11 grains), and total mineral matter of 39.38 grains.[4]

Assuming that people would be impressed by the mineral composition of his water, Burgesser had the mineral constituents identified on the label he designed for use on water jugs. There is no way of knowing how many of those labels he had printed through the years. Although the spring was commonly known in the area as

William Slater Burgesser (1853-1927).

Burgesser Mineral Springs, in advertising his water Burgesser chose to use the name "Ripley Mineral Springs." The water jug label carried a photograph of Burgesser pouring some of the water into a classic Ripley pottery jug. It also suggested that the mineral water was effective in alleviating or curing rheumatism "of all forms," diabetes, Bright's disease, dyspepsia (gastric complaints), constipation, and urinary troubles. It described the product as a "tonic water containing epsom and globber salts."

Is there anything in the water to substantiate the claims Burgesser made for it? The question is difficult to answer since we know more about the possible bad effects than the beneficial effects of mineral constituents in water. Most of the individual chemical compounds identified on the labels of jugs of "Ripley Mineral Springs" water are not represented in quantities which exceed recommended maximum limits set by the U.S. Public Health Service. The water is very hard, containing 595 parts per million of magnesium carbonate, magnesium sulfate, and calcium carbonate. Although today water containing over 200 ppm is usually softened, no health standard has been established. The iron content of Burgesser's spring water, .25 grain or 4 ppm, exceeds the recommended maximum level (.3 ppm) established by the Public Health Service by thirteen times, so probably it would be of benefit in alleviating liver ailments resulting from iron deficiency. The "epsom salts" (magnesium sulfate) and "globber salts" (sodium sulfate) totalled 166 ppm, well under the Public Health Service maximum limit of 250 ppm, but probably enough to produce a laxative effect. The total mineral content of the spring water, 39.38 grains or 674 ppm, exceeds the 500 ppm recommended maximum limit by a large measure, but that fact would not necessarily be bad from a health standpoint, and might even be beneficial in many cases.

The earliest newspaper reference to the sale of water from Burgesser's spring appeared in 1908 issue of Brown County's largest newspaper: "Perry Thompson is quite busy hauling and shipping the celebrated Burgesser Mineral Water for which he is the agent."[5] Thompson, a long-time friend and business associate of Burgesser's, apparently was hauling the water via a horse-drawn wagon to retailers in Rushville and Mt. Sterling, each about nine miles from the spring. It is believed that most of the water transported by Thompson was in five- or six-gallon glass jugs, each encased in a wooden crate to prevent breakage. Possibly other containers, such as barrels or Ripley pottery jugs, were used as well at times. Before the end of 1908, water was also being shipped by rail from Mt. Sterling to Quincy, forty miles away. Within a year of its introduction in Quincy, a "constant demand developed" for Burgesser's water.[6]

In November, 1909, Brown County residents learned from *The Democrat-Message* that an unidentified St. Louis physician and

capitalist who was "also interested in the manufacture and sale of an orange drink" had struck a deal with Slater Burgesser for a major enterprise involving the shipment of mineral water to St. Louis. This individual, identified in later reports as Dr. H. A. Geitz, was said to have "made an exhaustive analysis of the water and found its curative properties just as claimed by Mr. Burgesser." Not only that, but Dr. Geitz had used it in his practice and found the results "perfectly satisfactory." The water from Burgesser Mineral Springs, he concluded, was "greatly to be preferred to much stronger medicine" for diseases and ailments of the liver and kidneys and for "many other ills that afflict suffering humanity." As a result of the agreement with Burgesser, Dr. Geitz was reported to have ordered 30 fifty-gallon galvanized iron barrels for the immediate transport of enough mineral water to supply "practically every drug store" in St. Louis.[7]

Courthouse records show that three days after that report was published, Burgesser signed a lease turning over control of his spring and a right-of-way for an access road to H. A. Geitz. Soon thereafter it was announced that Geitz was involved in the formation of a corporation in St. Louis called the New Life Mineral Water Company. The other stockholders, all from St. Louis, were J. L. Slicer, who was to be president of the corporation, Helen Steer, and R. W. Stumpe, "a wealthy capitalist and banker." The function of this corporation was to be the construction of a bottling plant at Burgesser Springs for the bottling of carbonated mineral water to be marketed in St. Louis and, ultimately, in all large U.S. cities.[8]

In granting a lease to Geitz for expanded commercial development of the spring, Burgesser reserved the right "to take from the spring, use, sell or give away as much of the water . . . necessary to supply the counties of Adams, Pike, Brown, Schuyler and Cass, and also not to exceed one hundred gallons a day" for his personal use. For water taken from the spring by the lessee, Burgesser was to be paid five cents per gallon, plus an additional three cents for each gallon hauled by Burgesser or his agent (Perry Thompson) to the railroad in Mt. Sterling or Hersman. It was intended that this transportation fee provision would be in effect only until a pipeline could be constructed from the spring to the railroad. The agreement between Slater Burgesser and the St. Louis corporation also required the New Life Mineral Water Company to spend not less than $1,500 in advertising during the first year, but allowed the corporation to cancel the contract at the end of a year if the venture did not prove to be financially successful.

In late December, 1909, water was being hauled by wagon, presumably in the "galvanized iron" barrels, to the Mt. Sterling railroad depot for shipment to St. Louis. Burgesser also was hauling

water to serve his own market area. A Christmas day issue of Mt. Sterling's *The Democrat-Message* carried this interesting reprint from the *Quincy Herald:* "Slater Burgesser shipped fifty big five-gallon jars of spring water last Friday by freight. When they reached here this morning, there was not enough water left to drown a flea. Every bottle had been cracked by the cold. The only safe way to carry water anywhere now is to drink it."[9] Burgesser was no doubt upset by the loss of his large glass jars, but, noted for his own colorful phraseology, he must have appreciated that newspaper report.

On New Year's Day, 1910, workers contracted by the New Life Mineral Water Company began construction at Burgesser Mineral Springs of a large building to house bottling equipment. Apparently there was not enough room in the small valley where the spring is located for the 30 by 100 foot wooden building, so its construction was undertaken on the adjoining upland. Despite the cold weather, the work proceeded at a remarkable pace, and before the end of February the building was finished and the machinery was installed in the south two-thirds of it; the north one-third of the structure was divided into several rooms to serve as accommodations for the manager's family. A barn was also constructed in the valley near the spring for the horses and wagons, another smaller building was erected to house the bottle-labelling operation, and a 16- by 30-foot storage building was built in Mt. Sterling near the railroad depot.

The stockholders of the New Life Mineral Water Company met at the spring in mid-March to examine the facilities. Slater Burgesser did not meet with them, since he had gone to Florida just after Christmas. It was decided that production should begin immediately, and it was announced that several train car loads of bottled water would be shipped to New York City as soon as possible. Before the end of March, a plant manager, Edward G. Geitz, and his parents arrived from St. Louis and moved into the living quarters of the main building at the spring. Probably these people were relatives of Dr. H. A. Geitz. Workers were hired locally late in March. An early April local newspaper reported that "Business is brisk now at the New Life Mineral Springs. Ed Geitz, the manager, is a hustling young man, whom everyone likes, and he seems to fully understand how to run a bottling works."[10] By late April a "full set of hands" were working at the bottling plant and several teams were being used to haul water to the railroad. At about that time Slater Burgesser returned from his extended vacation and was, no doubt, pleased by the bustling activity at the spring. Immediately he began taking advantage of his "piece of the action," sending his friend and employee Perry Thompson to Rushville with a load of mineral water each week. Burgesser was soon out of circulation, however, because of a serious accident. In mid-May the team of horses pulling his buggy became uncontrollable,

and he jumped from the carriage, breaking an arm and a leg, fracturing another bone, and dislocating his ankle. One newspaper gossip column expressed fear that he would be crippled for a long time, but another newspaper had confidence that "he will get along all right, if the nurse can keep him from talking."[11] Slater Burgesser was locally famous for his almost non-stop talking.

Of the employees of the New Life Mineral Water Company, only one is alive today. She is Nina Seckman Drew of Mt. Sterling. Nina Seckman was an unmarried young woman of twenty-five when she went to work at the spring early in 1910. At this writing she is ninety-sever years old. According to her first-hand account, a pipeline carried water from the spring to the main building, where it was pumped into a large metal storage tank.[12] Water from this tank was piped into a distiller, and distilled water from this equipment's storage tank was piped to the bottling machinery. Once the bottles were filled, they moved along to a carbonator which injected their contents with carbon dioxide. The operator of the carbonation machine, reports Mrs. Drew, had the most dangerous job in the plant, for often there would be a resounding report through the premises as a bottle exploded. From the carbonator, the bottles moved on to a capping machine.

Before the New Life Mineral Water Company bottles were filled and capped in the plant, they were labelled in the small labelling building. It was in this building that Nina Seckman Drew worked. Edward Geitz's father, J. C. Geitz, supervised the work of the young women who labelled bottles. The elder Geitz, according to Mrs. Drew, was an "odd fellow" who wore a beanie cap under his hat. He insisted on perfection in the application of labels to the bottles and "fussed at" the employee who inadvertently glued on a label crooked. He expected the women to "keep their mouths shut and their hands busy." The workers in the labelling building worked from 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. and were paid one dollar a day. Whether the same hours and wages characterized work in the bottling plant is unknown.

Nina Seckman labelled bottles from the time the plant opened in the spring until the weather became too bad in the early winter for her to walk to work. During that time she saw very little of Slater Burgesser, probably because of his accident and long period of recuperation. She remembers him as a man who "talked all the time."[13]

The local newspapers carried no news about what was going on at the Burgesser place during the summer. A November, 1910, newspaper reported that there was "considerable business" activity there, and the next mention of the spring, in January, 1911, noted that Perry Thompson was hauling bottled mineral water to Mt. Sterling. In May Edward Geitz left the Ripley area and returned to St. Louis

Ripley Mineral Springs

SLATER BURGESSER, Owner

Ripley, Brown County, Illinois

EHNIE BROS., Local Agents

This water has been used with good results for the following diseases: Rheumatism of all forms, Diabetes, Bright's Disease and Dyspepsia.

ANALYSIS

as made by the University of Illinois, Dept of Chemistry, is as follows:

Potassium Nitrate	.13 grs.
Potassium Chloride	.33 grs.
Sodium Chloride	.12 grs.
Sodium Sulphate	2.47 grs.
Magnesium Sulphate	6.31 grs.
Magnesium Carbonate	7.22 grs.
Calcium Carbonate	21.19 grs.
Iron Carbonate	.25 gr.
Alumina	.05 gr.
Silica	1.11 gr.
Total mineral matter per U. S. gallon	39.38 grs.

ARTHUR W. PALMER, Prof. Chemistry

While using, to get best results take 6 or 8 eight ounce glasses per day.

It has also proven very effective for Constipation, acute or chronic, and for Urinary Troubles. A tonic water containing epsom and globber salts.

Reproduction of the Only Extant Label from a "Ripley Mineral Springs" Water Jug.

to accept a job there. His parents stayed behind to supervise operations for the New Life Mineral Water Company, and in mid-May they were reported to be doing "some business."

The New Life Mineral Water Company, its stockholders, its employees, and its bottling plant near Ripley were never mentioned again by the local press after mid-May 1911. The company apparently went out of business soon thereafter — not much more than a year after the construction of the factory. Perhaps the editors of the local newspapers felt that the less said about the matter the better, for a year before they had played up the new industry as a boon to the county. The seemingly abrupt end of the New Life Mineral Water Company, however, did not end Slater Burgesser's conviction that the water from his spring was precious fluid. Perry Thompson continued hauling water for him to Rushville and probably Mt. Sterling for transport to Quincy.

It is not known if Burgesser sought to interest other entrepreneurs in developing a business in the buildings at his spring. The defunct St. Louis corporation most likely had all the equipment removed from the bottling plant, so that very large building, like the other smaller ones, probably was empty by the summer of 1911. A year later, Burgesser had decided that these buildings had recreational potential, so he made them available to serve as a girls' camp. An article from a July 1912 newspaper gave evidence of this and also made another reference to Slater Burgesser's entertaining manner: "The boys comprising E. F. Crane's class from the Presbyterian Sunday school . . . are spending today at the girls' camp at Ripley Mineral Springs, where, it is entirely safe to say, they are being royally entertained."[14]

During 1912 and 1913 the C. B. Craven Grocery Company of Mt. Sterling did much to promote Ripley Mineral Water. Water from Burgesser's spring was sold in the store for ten cents a gallon, dispensed "ice cold" at its "sanitary drinking fountain," and advertised in the local newspapers. Perry Thompson told Mt. Sterling's *The Democrat-Message* in May 1913 that "trade in mineral water is rapidly increasing" and that he had been taking orders in Fulton and McDonough counties.

The importance of the Burgesser place as a recreation spot increased during 1914, church picnics and community chicken dinners becoming almost weekly events there during the summer and fall. A particularly large gathering was reported in September 1914:

> On last Sunday we spent the day at the famous Ripley Mineral Springs on the Burgesser farm, where we found a crowd of merry picnickers, estimated at from ten to twelve hundred people. The crowd was highly entertained by the Rose orchestra and Hersman

> band. Mr. Burgesser, the owner and proprietor, was kept quite busy entertaining and trying to make everyone welcome, more especially all the good looking widows.[15]

Early in 1915 Perry Thompson left Burgesser's employ and took a job in Monmouth. Burgesser hired another man, William O'Neil, to haul mineral water to Rushville, Mt. Sterling, and other nearby communities, and O'Neil had this job for about four years. Another O'Neil, Clyde O'Neil, then took the job as "mineral water agent." Possibly Burgesser continued to have a sales agent for his water for the rest of his life, but the local press carried no mention of Burgesser Mineral Springs after 1919. The last such report stated that "Slater Burgesser is granting tent privilege with free use of the spring water for $1.00 per week."[16]

William Slater Burgesser died suddenly of a heart attack on March 11, 1927 and was buried in the cemetery of Versailles, near which he was born. The question posed by *The Rushville Times* and quoted in the first paragraph of this article was never answered, and probably even Slater Burgesser, who consumed "copious quantities" of the mineral water during the last thirty-seven years of his life, did not know the answer.

The water of Burgesser's spring, so far as is known, was never marketed after his death. His son, Willie, did not share his father's belief that the water had health-giving qualities. Today few relics remain at the site of the springs. A few lengths of the ceramic pipeline that once carried water from the spring to the bottling plant have been exposed by erosion in the little valley. Nearby are three walls of the concrete foundation of one of the smaller buildings that once stood there — perhaps the barn or the labelling building where Nina Seckman and other women glued labels on graceful amber bottles under the watchful eye of the man who wore a beanie under his hat. Broken pieces of amber bottles are washed by the tiny stream. (Only two unbroken New Life Mineral Water bottles are known to exist.) No trace whatsoever remains of the bottling plant. It burned, was torn down, or simply rotted away — no one is quite sure. The spring itself is an inconspicuous little seep of water on the leaf-littered floor of the inconspicuous little valley.

NOTES

[1]*The Rushville Times,* 10 January 1910, p. 4.

[2]"A Midnight Supper at Burgesser's Mineral Springs," *The Democrat-Message* (Mt. Sterling), 11 November 1903, p. 1.

[3]Ibid.

[4]"Burgesser Mineral Springs," *The Democrat-Message,* 1 July 1970, p. 8.

[5]"Ripley News," *The Democrat-Message,* 29 April 1908, p. 3.

[6]"Burgesser Mineral Springs," *The Democrat-Message,* 24 November 1909, p. 1.

[7]Ibid.

[8]"Burgesser Springs Leased for 20 Years," *The Democrat-Message,* 11 December 1909, p. 1.

[9]*The Democrat-Message,* 25 December 1909, p. 3.

[10]*The Democrat-Message,* 9 April 1910, p. 6.

[11]"Ripley News," *Brown County Republican* (Mt. Sterling), 20 May 1910, p. 8.

[12]Interview with Mrs. Nina Seckman Drew, Mt. Sterling, Illinois, 17 May 1981.

[13]Ibid.

[14]"Visitors at the Mineral Springs Camp," *The Democrat-Message,* 17 July 1912, p. 5.

[15]"Ripley News," *The Democrat-Message,* 12 September 1914, p. 7.

[16]"Ripley News," *The Democrat-Message,* 14 June 1919, p. 2.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The study of western Illinois is expanding. In the Spring of 1983 a new *Western Illinois Monograph Series* will feature longer studies on the area's local and regional history and culture. As such, the series is rather unique. Ever since the commercially successful but intellectually disasterous Bateman series of county histories in the 1910s, the history of non-metropolitan areas has not been considered a suitable subject for serious study by scholars. And, even if researchers avoided antiquarianism and exorbitant claims of local uniqueness, there were no channels for communicating results of that research to scholarly audiences.

The *Western Illinois Monograph Series* will try to fill this void. The first two monographs to appear will feature writers. Marcia Noe, Associate Professor of English at Black Hawk College, will explore regional influences on the writings of Susan Glaspell, a writer from Davenport, Iowa. John Hallwas, Director of Regional Collections at Western Illinois University, will profile Thomas Gregg, a frontier newspaperman and an influential non-Mormon leader in Hancock County during the 1840s. Several more manuscripts have already been submitted, testifying to the need for this type of scholarly publication.

August 11, 1983, marks the 150th anniversary of Robert G. Ingersoll's birth. A group of people in Peoria have organized "The Friends of Robert G. Ingersoll" and are making plans to celebrate the occasion. Included will be oratorical contests, lectures by Ingersoll scholars, historical exhibits, tours of Ingersoll sites, presentations from freethought groups, and other activities. The organization is also interested in publishing volumes of Ingersoll's works, including writings which have not had a wide circulation. Membership in the group is two dollars, and inquiries should be directed to: Michael Richardson, Friends of Robert G. Ingersoll, P.O. Box 5082, Peoria, IL, 61602.

The forthcoming Western Illinois Regional Studies Conference will be held on Saturday, April 9, 1983, in Rock Island, Illinois. Sponsored by Augustana College and the Black Hawk and Scott (Iowa) Community Colleges, the conference will examine the ways in which the network of water routes leading to the Mississippi River have been

important in shaping the settlement and culture of the area. The conference will, for the first time in its history, feature not only Illinois, but also the eastern edge of Iowa. The keynote speaker will be Dr. Stuart Struever of Northwestern University, a well-known authority on prehistoric Indians of Illinois. A pre-conference informal session on Friday is also planned. A full announcement and program will be distributed. All inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Roald Tweet, Department of English, Augustana College, Rock Island, IL, 61201.

The Summer and Fall of 1982 were again marked by annual festivals and celebrations, such as Galesburg's Railroad Days, and Peoria's Steamboat Days, the Descendents of Icarians gathering, Bishop Hill's Sommarmarknad, Nauvoo's Grape Festival, and the Spoon River Drive. In addition to these, Macomb celebrated its 150th anniversary. The Macomb "Heritage Days" festival promises to become an annual event. Although many of these celebrations have strong commercial overtones, their expression of historic themes points to a public desire to know more about the history of our communities.

The year has not produced many books related to the region, but in addition to those reviewed, two have come to our attention. *The McNair Family of Elsah, Illinois: Uncommon Common Men* by Paul O. Williams was published as pamphlet number seven of the Historic Elsah Foundation, P.O. Box 117, Elsah, IL. Despite its title, this book is not a "who-begat-whom" type of work, but in the words of the author, "a window to the life of the common man." Based on a seven-volume diary, a packet of letters, glass negatives and oral information from McNair family, this history is an interesting work with notes and documentation of sources. The diaries and related papers are now housed in Principia College.

The second book is *Jubilee Diary* by David Picharske, published by Ellis Press, P.O. Box 1443, Peoria, IL. Jubilee College State Park is where the author blends and contrasts his own life and situation with that of Bishop Philander Chase, the indefatigable founder of the wilderness college. The book is not an historical study but rather a subjective encounter between a man of the present and a man of the past. Numerous letters from the Chase Collection at Bradley University in Peoria reveal the struggle and the faith of the noted frontier bishop. Diary entries from April 1980 to April 1981 portray a modern man who is delving into his experience at one location to discover what is most essential and most worth pursuing in his own life. In the process, Picharske provides a thought-provoking experience for the reader, spiced with vivid descriptions of Jubilee College and its natural setting.

At least three projects of historical interest for our region were supported by grants from the Illinois Humanities Council. The Special

Collections Department of the Library at the University of Illinois in Urbana has prepared an exhibit on Carl Sandburg, which is travelling to various public libraries. The Phoenix Opera House, Inc., a group of local people in Rushville, has received a grant to develop an exhibit about their town, based on a recently-discovered collection of glass negatives dating from the turn of the century. The Quincy and Adams County Historical Society has received a grant for a similar project. The Society will preserve a large collection of prints and negatives now in private hands, and also produce a series of short slide presentations on historical topics related to Quincy and Adams County.

Gordana Rezab
Western Illinois University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

REDISCOVERIES: LITERATURE AND PLACE IN ILLINOIS. By Robert C. Bray. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1982 Pp. 167. $16.95.

Robert C. Bray's *Rediscoveries* is a readable and sometimes penetrating study that gives attention to several Illinois authors who do not have the readership they deserve. But the book's title suggests that it will accomplish more than it does, and there are problems regarding the author's selection of material as well.

The authors who receive the most extensive treatment are Joseph Kirkland, Francis Grierson, Hamlin Garland, Henry Blake Fuller, and Robert Herrick. Although Bray's discussions of their major achievements are worthwhile, he does not relate his analyses to each other or attempt to sum up his insights concerning literature and place in Illinois.

Moreover, although these five fiction writers do not enjoy the readership they once had, they have already been "rediscovered" by modern scholarship — through volumes in the Twayne Series and other criticism. Hence, Bray is hardly engaging in "Literary Archaeology" (his term) when he focuses on them. Unfortunately, the author also does not acknowledge any of those earlier studies, which are not unrelated, in many cases, to his own concerns. This point would not be so important if Bray himself did not indicate that he was discussing "neglected documents" (p. 12) and "neglected Illinois literature" (p. 71). The books may still be neglected by readers of American literature, but they have received some important attention from scholars. The notion that "Bray reclaims a nearly lost literary heritage," as the book jacket puts it, is an overstatement of his achievement.

Bray also discusses more briefly several other writers who do not have many readers any more — such as Edward Eggleston, Mary Hartwell Catherwood, and David Ross Locke. But there are problems here, too. Neither Eggleston nor Locke is really an "Illinois regionalist author" (p. 6). The former was raised in Indiana and spent little time in Illinois; the latter lived in Ohio and was not ever associated with Illinois. Bray regards them as Illinois authors simply because each wrote a book that is set in the state. But in a study of "Literature

and Place," the relationship of an author to his locale is no small concern, and they hardly qualify as Illinois writers.

Bray does not, in fact, deal with the literary expression of place in "The Country" and "The Town" (two early chapters) as well as he handles that concern in his later chapters about Chicago writers. His discussion of Eliza Farnham's *Life in Prairie Land,* for example, does not do justice to that volume of travel writing. A book that describes the squalor and filth of frontier homesteads, and depicts a pioneer woman who dies giving birth to a baby outdoors in the cold and rain, is hardly the purely "romantic" document that Bray asserts it is (pp. 16-17). And Farnham's focus on man's relationship to the landscape deserves attention in a study that deals with "Literature and Place in Illinois," but that aspect of her work receives no comment.

However, Bray is not really interested in travel literature, or in poetry, for that matter. Nor is he interested in Illinois literature before 1887, when Kirkland's *Zury* appeared. Indeed, his book is simply a study of the treatment of place in selected fiction writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That would be fine, except that Bray mistakenly views those authors as the only writers of note in the state up to that time (p. 5). No mention is made of John Hay, for example, whose famous Pike County Ballads reflected the frontier locale he had known as a youth.

Bray does devote part of one chapter and all of his "Epilogue" to a few Illinois poets — Sandburg, Masters, and Dave Etter — but he does not say much of significance about them. If he intended to discuss place in Illinois poetry, he might have started with pioneer poet John Howard Bryant and should have mentioned Hay, Vachel Lindsay, and others. If he did not intend to discuss poetry, he should have omitted the few poets that he deals with in a surface fashion. Moreover, Sandburg, Masters, and Etter are hardly "rediscoveries" of the kind that Bray says he is concerned with at the outset.

Hence, the "Epilogue" to the volume does not relate directly to the Illinois fiction that *Rediscoveries* is mainly devoted to. It should have, for the book needs to be drawn together. Instead, Bray tries to fashion a concluding essay on place and cultural change in Illinois, using the poetry of Masters, Sandburg, and Etter as a reflection of that historical circumstance. But when he abandons aesthetic concerns for cultural ones, his lack of acquaintance with the work of historical geographers like John A. Jakle, David Lowenthal, Kevin Lynch, and Fritz Steele becomes apparent, for his insights are hardly new. The gradual disappearance of cultural distinction in midwestern small towns, for example, has been effectively described by geographers.

Rediscoveries is, then, a volume of predominantly sound discussions of some Illinois fiction writers and a couple from other states

whose work reflects the social scene downstate or in Chicago. It ought to be read by anyone interested in those authors, but the book is not a thoroughgoing study of place in Illinois literature, in spite of what the title suggests, nor does it "rediscover" any completely neglected authors.

John E. Hallwas
Western Illinois University

SESQUICENTENNIAL PAPERS: ILLINOIS COLLEGE. Edited by Iver F. Yeager, Foreword by William N. Clark, Introduction by Donald C. Mundinger. Carbondale: Published for Illinois College by Southern Illinois University Press, 1982. Pp. 400. $17.50.

Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois, was founded in 1829. During 1979 and 1980 the college held a series of convocations, concerts and programs in order to commemorate 150 years of the school's existence as an integral part of higher education in Illinois. Iver F. Yeager was given the task of assembling the general report on these activities, a task which took form in publication during 1982.

The book is divided into segments. The first is a general Introduction headed by the comments of Donald C. Mundinger, President of Illinois College. The second part centers upon liberal learning as part of the tradition of the school. Each chapter in the latter treats a convocation or dedicatory ceremony held during the two years. Part three handles the relationship between the college and the two denominations which were instrumental in founding the college. The fourth includes various reports upon special programs and addresses held or given during the years of celebration.

For anyone not connected directly with Illinois College and its great history, there may be times when one wonders whether certain items should have been included in the book. There is, for instance, a long rambling description of the college's homecoming activities in 1979, including a citation from the college newspaper heralding the fact that the "vivacious Sherry Lynn Baumgarte" had received the tiara which denoted her selection as the new homecoming queen. There follows then a tedious coverage of the homecoming parade and the following football game between Illinois College and its opponent. The last was marked as "the first time in our history the football game was started with the firing of a cannon, manned by senior Connor Haynes and his Civil War gun crew dressed in Confederate gray." Since Illinois College was such a center of abolitionism in 1861, the event must have seemed to be a strange contradiction to the spirits of the past which hover over the roof of "Old Main."

Indeed, there is much which editor Yeager may well have left out, but his task was apparently not to please the general reader but those who have maintained a sentimental interest in the school's continuance. There is a good deal of history to be found in parts of the book — that is, if one wishes to dig it out. These shadows of the past are presented in indirect fashion, however, and the work of getting to them involves wading through articles such as the one which attempts to explain the so-called black holes of space. But some items are rewarding. This reviewer did not know, for instance, that the music for Robert Burns' "Sweet Afton" was composed by an early Illinois graduate. Nor did he know that Diamond Grove Cemetery in Jacksonville contains the remains of so many who helped to bring Illinois College through 150 years of turbulent times. Indicative of the nature of the book is that even this is included: the "Remembrance March" to Diamond Grove Cemetery, the list of persons who were to honor the dead, and the actual map of the cemetery itself.

All in all, one might have to conclude that these sesquicentennial papers may not be nearly so important for the contemporary reader as they will be for Illinois graduates of the future. One gets an eerie feeling that the entire book, which is handsomely put together, is really an attempt to fix Illinois College in time and space — not so much for all of us who are now here to see it, but for those graduates of that institution who will be receiving their degrees some 150 years hence.

Victor Hicken
Western Illinois University

THE JOURNEY. By Martin Litvin. Galesburg: Galesburg Historical Society, 1981. Pp. x1, 471.

The author of this lengthy biography, a Galesburg native who was educated in that city's public schools, has put together a sympathetic narrative of the career of Augustus M. Bondi, a Viennese immigrant, from his boyhood in the days of imperial Austria through his American wonderings as a young man in New Orleans, Texas, and in Kansas on the eve of the Civil War. Litvin details Bondi's service during that war with the 5th Kansas Cavalry and ends with his entrepreneural activities at Salina, Kansas, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It was quite an odyssey. Throughout the tale the author also develops what might be called the sub-theme of the book, a study of American Jewry in the Midwest. It is a biography based on exhaustive research into all extant material relating to Bondi, scholarship evident in the numerous footnotes and in Litvin's account of his research in the Introduction.

While parts of *The Journey* will appeal to different readers, this reviewer found the chapters detailing Bondi's adventures with John Brown during the Kansas Civil War the most fascinating. The author gives no excuse for Brown's brutal massacre in the spring of 1856 of the pro-slavery Doyle family, Allen Wilkinson, and Dutch Bill Sherman at Pottawatomie Creek. Fortunately, Bondi was not present at these gruesome events, but he later had to defend himself time and again against the charge that he was one of the culprits. Throughout the biography there is much detail about the broader historical developments taking place in Europe and the United States, and what emerges, therefore, is a study which goes beyond biography to become a story of the man and the times.

There are some problems with *The Journey,* though; a couple are severe and the others are more minor. One of the shortcomings, ironically, is directly related to the author's attempt to present a history of the times as well as of the man. Often Litvin overdoes the narrative of events. For example, in discussing political developments in Vienna during Bondi's youth, he digresses in time all the way back to the French Revolution. This same penchant to put on paper every piece of unearthed information also mars the author's performance as biographer, as when, in chapter five, "Figures in a Faded Tapestry," he felt compelled to list a fourteen-page genealogy of the Bondi family. This data should have been relegated to an appendix, if used at all. Also, the author's style is sometimes choppy. His continuous use of the two-sentence paragraph conveys more a journalist than an historian at work. Finally, the book could have profited from more careful proofreading. For example, Litvin asserts that "Herz Emanuel Bondy and Martha Frankl were wed on January 12, 1832" (p. 6). Then he writes that "Augustus Mendel Bondy, the first child of Jertz and Martha, was born in the third storey of Vienna'd Yrmplr House in Seitenstellengasse, July 21, 1883" (p. 7).

The Journey has almost nothing to do with the western Illinois region, except for a few pages toward the end which tell of the opening of the Bondi Building in Galesburg by August Bondi's two sons in April, 1897, and his brief visit there just before his sudden death in St. Louis on September 30, 1907. Nevertheless, it should be welcome by those who are interested in the Civil War era, immigrants in nineteenth-century America, and the Jewish experience in the U.S.

Robert P. Sutton
Western Illinois University

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN E. HALLWAS, Professor of English at Western Illinois University, is the author of more than two dozen articles on Illinois literature. His latest book is *The Poems of H.: The Lost Poet of Lincoln's Springfield* (1982). He is also a co-editor of *Western Illinois Regional Studies.*

DAVID R. PICHASKE, Professor of English at Southwest State University in Minnesota, is the author of *A Generation in Motion* (1979), *The Poetry of Rock* (1981), and *Jubilee Diary* (1982), among other books and articles. He is also a small press publisher who specializes in midwestern literature, as the owner of The Ellis Press, The Spoon River Poetry Press, and Kickapoo Press.

JOAN I. UNSICKER is an historical archaeologist living in Sacramento, California, and has worked extensively at the Cahokia Courthouse Site, the Mt. Pulaski Historic Site, and the Jubilee College Historic Site in Illinois. Her article on archaeological explorations at Jubilee College Historic Site appeared in the Spring, 1980 issue of *WIRS.*

JAMES W. VINING, an Associate Professor of Geography at Western Illinois University, has published numerous articles relating to cultural geography in Guyana and the United States. He is the current Executive Director of the National Council for Geographic Education.

JULIET E. K. WALKER is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Illinois. She is the author of *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier* (1983), and during the present year she is a Research Assistant at the W. E. B. DuBois Institute, Harvard University.